

JPRS 75807

2 June 1980

# **Near East/North Africa Report**

**No. 2125**

**Egypt: Opposition Press Coverage**

**18 February-14 April 1980**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2125

## EGYPT: OPPOSITION PRESS COVERAGE

18 FEBRUARY-14 APRIL 1980

AL-AHRAR, Weekly Publication of Socialist Liberals Party

AL-SHA'B, Weekly Publication of Socialist Workers Party

AL-DA'WAH, Monthly Publication of the Muslim Brotherhood

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EGYPT

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT CHAIRMAN WILL NOT ATTEND DISCUSSIONS ON LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Constitutional Court Chairman Will Not Attend Discussion on Law of Shame"]

[Text] AL-SHA'B has learned that Counselor Mamduh 'Atiyah, chairman of the Constitutional Court, will not attend the meetings of the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities during the council's discussions on the draft law of shame because the counselor expects that more than one party will dispute the constitutionality of this law and because the court he chairs is the court which will make the decision on such disputations.

8494

CSO: 4802



EGYPT

NATIONAL FRONT PARTY DISPUTES CONSTITUTIONALITY OF PARTIES LAW

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Postponement of Decision on Unconstitutionality of Political Parties Law"]

[Text] The decision on the appeal submitted by Counselor Mumtaz Nassar, representative of the founders of the National Front Party, on the unconstitutionality of the political parties law has been postponed until the session of 23 April 1980.

The Political Parties Committee had objected to the foundation of the National Front Party and the founders' representative had appealed the ruling, disputing the constitutionality of the parties law.

The case is being examined by the first circuit of the State Council under the chairmanship of the council chairman.

8494

CSO: 4802

LAWYERS UNION COLLOQUIUM DISRUPTED BY OUTSIDERS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 1

[Articles: "Non-Lawyers Hurl Chairs at Each Other During Lawyers Union Colloquium on Law of Shame"]

[Text] Last Friday evening, the Lawyers Union held a colloquium to discuss the draft law of shame. The colloquium was addressed by Lawyer Mustafa Mar'i and was attended by Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the National Party secretary general, and by a large crowd of lawyers.

Mustafa Mar'i talked to the colloquium for 2.5 hours on his opinion regarding the draft law.

Some non-lawyers attending the colloquium tried to interrupt, thus ruining the atmosphere of democratic dialogue and turning the dialogue into one of hurling chairs.

Muhammad 'Ulwan, a member of the union council, stated that the union has always opened its doors for the public to take part in its political and national colloquiums. But after the intervention in this manner by non-lawyers, the union must take the measures to protect democratic dialogue within its ranks, among its members and by those taking part in the dialogue so that it may be a sound democratic dialogue.

8494

CSO: 4802

## JUDGES WANT LAW OF SHAME, SPECIAL LEGISLATIONS WITHDRAWN

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Judges Demand Final Withdrawal of Law of Shame, Abolition of Position of Socialist Public Prosecutor and Higher Council of Judiciary Authorities and Termination of State of Emergency and of Extraordinary Legislations"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the Judges Club invited the judges throughout the republic to an open meeting at the club's headquarters in Cairo last Thursday evening.

Throughout 5 consecutive hours, more than 1000 members discussed the draft law of shame and the amendments announced by the minister of justice just 1 day before the meeting.

[Sentence missing]

While responding to the call of the president to discuss the draft law to protect values against shame and the recent amendments introduced to this draft, Egypt's judges, meeting at their club's Executive Council premises, declare the following:

First, protecting society's basic values does not mean confiscating the citizen's freedom of opinion, expression and meeting. This protection requires primarily the principles of legitimacy and of supremacy of the law--principles declared by the correction movement--under the canopy of control by the judiciary authority alone and without the intervention of any intruder so that the citizens' liberties may not be undermined or denied.

Second, independence of the judiciary is tantamount to the people's guarantees for the realization of these basic principles. This independence requires first and foremost refrainment from undermining the judiciary's powers and exclusion of non-judges from participation in performing the judiciary's message.

Third, in observation of these principles and in support of the resolutions of the Judges Club Executive Council in Cairo and of the special general

assembly of their club in Alexandria--resolutions issued on the third and seventh of the current month of February--Egypt's judges urge the need for a final withdrawal of the projected draft law of shame and of all the amendments introduced to it in part and parcel. The judges also urge the need for abolishing the position of the socialist public prosecutor and of the Judiciary Authorities Council--Higher Council. They also urge the need for terminating the state of emergencies whose causes disappeared with the termination of the state of war and cancellation of all the extraordinary legislations as well as abolition of the powers of military courts over non-military crimes and their power to try civilians. Moreover, the judges urge the need to secure the right of all citizens to resort to their ordinary judge.

Fourth, the conferees hereby present these resolutions to his excellency the president of the republic in response to his call. God is the giver of success for all efforts to lay down the foundations of justice and to enhance Egypt's dignity and prestige.

8494

CSO: 4802

# APPELLATE COUNSELORS COMMITTEE DISAPPROVES OF LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "Appellate Counselors Committee Does Not Approve Law of Shame"]

[Text] The committee formed of the General Assembly of the Appellate Court counselors has prepared its report on the draft law of shame. The committee concludes its report with a proposal to the General Assembly to reject the projected draft law under study and to instruct the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities not to approve it.

The committee has included 'Adli Mustafa Baghdadi, the first deputy chairman of the Appellate Court; 'Uthman Mahran al-Zayni, the Court Chairman; and Salah Nassar, the court member.

The report includes the following:

The draft law contains various criminal penalties—even though the draft law calls them measures—in addition to its proposition to question acts which are in fact criminal acts and which are covered by the existing criminal laws. Moreover, the draft law entrusts the power of interrogation and indictment over these acts—at the individual level—to a non-judiciary authority, namely the socialist public prosecutor who is under the control of the People's Assembly, and wrests this power away from its natural place, namely, the judiciary investigation or the public prosecution.

The draft law also entrusts the power of decision to a special council formed differently from the courts which the constitution considers the embodiment of the state's judiciary authority. The draft law further assigns to this council, which it calls the values court, the sole power of decision over the crimes it cites and gives this council the power to determine what falls within its jurisdiction. The draft requires the courts, which are the authority with the genuine power to make decisions on crimes, to submit to the opinion of this council because it prohibits appealing the council's sentences through any channel. The draft law also empowers the council not to abide by any not-guilty sentences issued by the criminal courts, unless such sentences are based on the inaccuracy of incident. The draft law thus



threatens the de facto powers in which a defendant found not guilty finds refuge against having his freedom once more threatened, even by the judiciary itself. The draft law thus gives this council powers which the courts themselves do not possess.

In its present form, the draft law contains enormous flaws that are in conflict with many of the legally approved principles. These flaws make it impossible to proceed with the measures for issuing the law and require that the draft law be rejected.

Therefore, the committee proposes to the General Assembly of the Appellate Court that it reject the draft law under study and that it recommend that the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities not approve the draft law.

8494

CSO1 4802

# ADMINISTRATIVE PROSECUTION CLUB REJECTS LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "Executive Council of Administrative Prosecution Club Rejects Law of Shame"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the Administrative Prosecution Club held a meeting last week to discuss the draft law to protect values against shame. The conferees issued a statement declaring that after perusing the draft law to protect values against shame and the resolutions issued by the Executive Council of the Judges Club in its session of 3 February 1980 and after deliberation, the Executive Council of the Administrative Prosecution Club has decided the following:

First, to support the resolution of the Judges Club Executive Council rejecting the draft law to protect values against shame.

Second, proceeding on the basis of the constitutional principles and of protecting liberties, to bolster the independence and neutrality of the judiciary authority and to condemn any partisan intervention whatsoever in the judiciary authority's powers, the council appeals to the officials at all levels to exert efforts not to submit this draft law altogether so as to preserve the 15 May principles, the most important of which is the principle of establishing the state of the supremacy of the law.

Third, to convey a copy of this resolution to his excellency the president of the republic in his capacity as the chairman of the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities, to the gentlemen members of the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities, to the chairman of the clubs of the judiciary authorities, to the prime minister, to the People's Assembly speaker, to the socialist public prosecutor and to the national and partisan press.

The statement declares that the Executive Council of Administrative Prosecution Club is considered in a state of constant convocation.

8494

CSO: 4802

# NATIONAL PARTY SUBCOMMITTEE DEEMS LAW OF SHAME NECESSARY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 p 6

[Article: "Subcommittee's Report to National Party's Legislature Committee: Law of Shame Is Constitutional Necessity, National Necessity and 10 Years Late!"]

[Text] AL-SHA'B has acquired the report prepared by the Democratic National Party's Legislative Committee on the law of shame. The report reviews the articles of the draft law and points out that the law of shame is a constitutional necessity and a national necessity, that it is 10 years late and that it was necessary to promulgate it with the 1971 constitution.

The report says that the Democratic National Party's General Secretariat referred to the committee the draft law to protect values against shame on 22 January 1980 and that the committee held a meeting on the evening of Thursday, 24 January 1980, which was attended by the party's secretary general and by the minister of social affairs.

After the secretary general dealt with the philosophy of the said draft law, he was followed by the committee chairman who reviewed briefly, some of the bill's major provisions. Her excellency the minister of social affairs also reviewed some aspects of the bill, as did the socialist prosecutor. A dialogue on the principle of the bill then followed and many of the gentlemen members of the committee took part in it.

The minister of social affairs and the socialist prosecutor then answered some questions by the members on the principle of the bill and the committee ended up approving the bill in principle. It also decided to form a subcommittee comprised of the chairman of the committee, the socialist public prosecutor, the minister of social affairs, Albert Barsum Salanah, 'Abd-al-'Al 'Arjun, 'Abd-al-'Aziz Jabr and Mahir Raghil Hanna to study the bill's provisions, to make proposals for amending whatever provisions it deems necessary to amend and to submit a report to the Legislative Committee in its session on the evening of Sunday, 27 January 1980.

The (subcommittee) ended up approving the bill in principle and its deliberations stressed that the bill is considered a constitutional necessity,

relying in its assessment on the provisions of the 1971 constitution. The (subcommittee) also concluded that this bill is an inevitable result of the constitutional provisions and that it is late because almost 10 years have passed since the promulgation of the [1971] constitution--a period during which the laws complementing the constitution should have been promulgated.

The subcommittee also stresses that the bill is considered a national necessity, pointing out in this regard that the law is considered a charter of honor by which all the people of Egypt abide and that it safeguards and protects the domestic front against foreign plots and against the minority cooperating internally with foreigners. Moreover, the bill safeguards the spiritual and religious values inherited by the Egyptians generation after generation against the shame that has been rejected and is still rejected by the ethics of the Egyptian village which is known for its genuineness and its values.

In its discussions, the subcommittee also recommended that sufficient controls be formulated in the press laws that are being drawn up currently to protect the public opinion and expression and the national economy.

8494

C80: 4802

# WRITERS, PROFESSIONALS, OTHERS OPPOSE LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 19 Feb 80 pp 6, 8, 9

[Article: "These People Have Said About Shame: Law Out of Step With Democratic Procession; Links Thought With Contracts and Politics; Law That Submits to no Logic and That Relies on Interpretations"]

[Text] In order to continue to convey the views of the people of opinion and thought and of the citizens on the draft law to protect values against shame, AL-SHA'B continues its interview with those who have a clear and frank opinion on this bill which, the judiciary and the legists have pointed out, is in violation of both the constitution and the law.

Ihsan 'Abd-al-Qaddus: I Have Been Shocked Politically

Ihsan 'Abd-al-Qaddus has said about the law of shame: I was shocked politically when I read the draft law of shame which has been published. Many friends, colleagues and writers have explained the causes of this shock and I will not repeat what they have said.

I would like to point out that AL-SHA'B has completely performed its responsibility in fighting this draft law, thus compelling the government to back down.

There is a question for which I have been seeking an answer and I hope that AL-SHA'B and my friend Ibrahim Shukri will help me find the answer. The question is:

Why has the government thought of promulgating this law and other extremely drastic laws that put complete dictatorship in a new form which threatens every Egyptian?

What does the government want exactly? What are its motives behind all this?

Democracy and Law of Shame

Concerning democracy and the law of shame, Dr Mahmud al-Qadi has said: AL-SHA'B has carried with great enthusiasm and full objectivity the banner



of opposition to the so-called law of shame. I did not have the honor of taking part in this national campaign at the time but I have followed all that has been published about the so-called law of shame which I call the "shameful law." It is a shame to us all to have among us somebody who thinks of promulgating this odd and strange law. It is a crude law that turns the opponent into the umpire and a deputy into a judge.

On 29/10/1980 [date as published], I read the bill in AL-AHRAM under the following bannerlines:

"People's Assembly Discusses Law of Shame."

"Law of Shame Protects People's Rights and Fundamental Mainstays."

Whoever has read the published law realizes that rather than protect the people's rights, this law squanders these rights, shackles the freedom of opinion and thought and muzzles the mouths to the furthest limit possible and that it has been drawn up to strike the opposition and the views that disagree with the government's opinion. The acts that are considered criminal by the law include any intellectual, literary, artistic, political or scientific efforts made by any individual concerned with his country's public affairs. It is evident that the goal behind the promulgation of such a law is to strike, rather kill, every thought or opinion disapproved by the ruling party which appoints and dismisses the socialist prosecutor and which forms the court which will try whomever this misfortune or his daring causes him to fall under the wrath of the ruling party. Moreover, deputies selected by the ruling party will be the ones who will conduct the trials and who will issue sentences to isolate their political opponents, place them under house arrest and deny them their political and civil rights. All this will happen and their sentences will not be subject to appeal because they will be final and not subject to reconsideration.

God be praised! This bill violates the constitution and the supremacy and the safety of the constitution and entrenches despotic rule and the dictatorship of the majority. It fills the people's spirit with suspicion, fear and apprehension.

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi: Law of Shame Is Out of Step With Democratic Procession and Seeks To Punish Crime of Thought

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the Socialist Labor Party youth secretary and its assistant secretary general, says that the law of shame is in violation of the constitution and of human rights. He has pointed out in this regard that the constitution stipulates that every man has the right to be tried by his ordinary judge. The Egyptian judiciary is clean and must be respected.

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, a professor at the Cairo University School of Medicine and a People's Assembly member, has criticized the inclusion of People's Assembly members in the Values Court and has said: I object to including People's Assembly members in the structure of this court. Constitutionally,

these members are not legislators and are not elements of the judiciary. Moreover, a People's Assembly member represents the masses in the legislative authority and does not come from a judiciary organization. Furthermore, there is no definite crime spelled out in this law and this is a legal violation. There can be no crime without a provision and no penalty without a provision. To leave matters in such a fluid state is something that logic cannot accept.

Dr al-Hadidi has wondered about the goal behind this law, saying that it seeks to punish the crime of thought. Naturally, the socialist public prosecutor and the Values Court can, with their structure as explained by this law, manipulate an opinion and turn it into a crime on the pretext that it fights the system of state.

Dr al-Hadadi again wonders about the goal of this law under the canopy of the principles of the 15 May revolution which has released the liberties and then proceeds to say: This law shackles liberties and violates the human rights and the United Nations charter and I believe that it is out of step with the democratic process.

#### Political Quarrelsomeness, Not Law

Dr Nu'man Muhammad Khalil Jum'ah, a professor at the Cairo University School of Law and an appellate attorney, says that the law of shame is a form of political quarrelsomeness with which some people want to blot out the sunlight and suppress the people's liberties.

#### Layla Takla Says: Mere Promulgation of Law Will Not Change Behavior of Individuals

Dr Layla Takla, a member of the Socialist Labor Party Executive Committee and chairman of the party's International Relations Committee, says: In my opinion, the mere promulgation of the law will not in itself change the behavior of individuals.

The philosophy of every law in any democratic system is that the people, not the government, should reign and not vice versa. Consequently, every citizen needs clear laws that protect him against oppression or domination and laws that are formulated in such a way as to make it absolutely impossible to turn them into an instrument of oppression or domination.

The Egyptian citizen needs primarily to have the conditions under which he lives improved and needs to be given the good example of behavior that reflects the genuineness of Egypt. The question posed is: Does the law of shame in its present form meet these conditions?

With no embarrassment at all, I can say that these conditions are lacking. What is lacking also is the ability to adjust behavior toward the better. Moreover, this draft law may even give rise to some acts that may be considered remote from the democratic path.

Legal Counselor Husam al-Din Husayn Kamil: Law of Shame is Shameful', Shameful

It is shameful to think of promulgating a so-called law of shame. Now that we have sought democracy and we are still seeking it, why should we kill it in the cradle and why should we think with the mentality of the past that has been rejected by our people and by all peoples? The world is renouncing the rule of oppression, suppression, of silencing and of dictatorship. Will our people accept what other peoples have renounced? I don't think so. Regardless of what justifications and what supporting arguments they [draft law proponents] cite, our people will not be convinced and will not march in this procession. This is the fate of a nation and the future of a people and of their aspiration for freedom, democracy and progress.

If I may say so, these provisions gathered under the name of law of shame cannot be considered a law. Can ethics be codified? We are not aware that our people have been without ethics and without values. Moreover, this does not tally with the truth. We have been saying for a long time that our people have a deep-rooted civilization and that the Islamic Shari'a is the fundamental law in all spheres. God be thanked, the Egyptian penal code abounds with legal provisions and with an arsenal of laws that have left nothing which they do not cover. This code is incomparable in terms of the acts it incriminates.

This proposed bill contains enormous constitutional violations and legislative flaws. It represents a flagrant transgression against the independence of the judiciary and allows partisan elements to take part in trying the citizens, thus denying them their constitutional guarantees. It also deprives the ordinary judges of the neutrality and impartiality that are guaranteed them by the independence of the judiciary. In observation of the constitution and in affirmation of the principle of the supremacy of the law and of the independence of the judiciary, this shameful law must be killed.

We have opposed and continue to oppose the socialist prosecutor law because of the duality existing in the powers of this prosecutor and the powers of the public prosecution. Now this draft law of shame comes to settle the question and to completely deprive the public prosecution of its powers. Article 24 of this bill says: "The socialist prosecutor, to the exclusion of all others, shall undertake investigation and indictment." This is a nail in the judiciary authority's coffin. We are subjecting the judiciary to the will of the ruling party. The structure of the Values Court, if we may so call the council or committee formed for this purpose, is void constitutionally and legally and is in violation of the United Nations human rights declaration because it contains non-judiciary elements and because its sentences are final. This is in conflict with the sentences issued by the ordinary courts. The succession of litigation is eliminated from this court. Moreover, it is the only authority which decides whether the acts considered criminal by this draft law come within its jurisdiction or not. This is in violation of the constitution because the Supreme Constitutional Court is the court with the power to settle such a dispute of jurisdiction whenever it arises.

It is also noticed that the court has the power to reconsider its sentences 1 year after they are issued, which is something that is not permitted in the judiciary courts. This power indicates that the Values Court is a power of intimidation, of pressure and of bargaining with the citizens to subjugate them and force them to submit to the wishes of the ruling party.

This law is alien to and discordant with the other laws. Should, God forbid, this law be promulgated, it will disseminate and intensify hatred among the classes of the people and its consequences will be grave and uncertain because every opponent, malcontent and other kinds of people will be working in the dark when the doors of open action are closed. This law's criminal, administrative, political and financial penalties are odd.

#### Law That Links Thought With Contracts and Politics

Poet Faruq Jawaydah, a journalist at AL-AHRAM, says: I find this law extremely intricate. It deals in an extremely general way with dissimilar aspects of our life amongst which there is no harmony. It links thought, contracts, politics and illicit profit. These are aspects that are governed by the general laws.

From the purely technical angle, i.e., the legal angle, I find that strong ambiguity will develop should such a law be promulgated. This law deals with issues in an extremely general and perilous manner which, I think, will prevent recourse to reason and will obstruct the freedom of interpretation. It deals with numerous intellectual issues which could be banned to mere discussion under its canopy.

The law provides for the presence of a values court. What is the jurisdiction of this court and what is its relationship with the ordinary law? Who will issue the sentence saying that so and so is against or with the laws in force or that he is against or with the political system?

The law provides a broad opportunity for numerous interpretations.

It will curtail extremely the freedom of thought and of interpretation and the desire for expression. What we find shameful might be otherwise in the world's civilized countries. Some people call for the use of reason and of the intellect and others may hold the opinion that this call is a form of blasphemy. When Taha Husayn published his book "Pre-Islamic Poetry," he was accused of blasphemy!

When 'Abd-al-Razzaq published his book "Islam and the Laws of Government," he was accused of blasphemy!

This means that we are now drafting a law to prevent the use and employment of reason.



## Law That Submits to no Logic

Lawyer Sayyid Mahmud Zaydan al-Sharif: We don't need more laws and laws should not be submitted to the People's Assembly whenever those drafting them feel like it.

The penal code contains whatever needs to be codified for the course of our life and it has defined everything.

Regarding the political aspect covered by the law of shame, the constitution gives the citizens all the rights that it gives the state.

I understand law as a piece of logic and logic is the language of reason. What reason accepts is a law. But the law of shame submits to no logic.

## Does Conscience Have Law

Jalal al-'Ashri, a man of letters and a literary critic, says about this law: Control by the law of shame is synonymous in my ear to the control of the law of conscience. I do not imagine that there is a law in the conscience. I also cannot imagine the codification of shame. The issue of shame is an issue connected with ethics, ideals and sublime values inherited by society throughout the ages and to be left by man as a legacy for future generations.

This heritage becomes a part of the individual's entity, his ethical composition and his cultural structure. This heritage is tantamount to the conscience or the inner world which is felt only by the person concerned and which is seen only by God. Therefore, I cannot imagine the presence of a law to codify this conscience, else ideals and values, and even aesthetics, will turn into "ready-made frameworks and preconceived formulas" into which all of society's members are molded. This leads to the obstruction of the individual's and, generally, of society's "moral and literary development."

Incrimination of the individual behavior is subject to the criminal code. But incrimination of the conscience is something that is in God's hands alone. Aren't acts judged on the basis of intentions and isn't every man (entitled to) his intentions? Man cannot be brought to account for his intentions. We only judge him on the basis of his behavior in accordance with the law in force in civilized nations.

As for shame and no shame, this is a matter that is left for the conscience and for the cultural vessel.

The law of shame is the most shameful thing directed at the Egyptian man and at the 7000-year old civilization of this man.

## These Citizens Say "NO" to Law of Shame

Tariq Muhammad al-Shashnawi, a student at the Shubra Engineering School, says: I do not approve of the law of shame. After the 15 May revolution which has



shut down the detention camps, abolished custodianship and eliminated the dawn visitors, I cannot imagine that a law will come to again open the doors to a period similar to the period preceding 15 May.

Jamal Sa'id, a student at the Information College, says that the law of shame has no grounds whatsoever in democracy.

Sabri Khalifah, a student at the Cairo School of Commerce, points out that the promulgation of such a law will bring Egypt no honor in the eyes of the countries where our [moral] credit has risen since the October war and where esteem for the Egyptian man has been enhanced since the peace initiative because this law means that we are a people amongst whom shame has spread to such a degree that it needs to be codified.

#### It Needs Frank Explanation and Definition

Engineer Munir Ahmad al-Baghdadi says: The law of shame is shame itself. To my mind, this law will be misused if it is promulgated in its present form. It needs to be clarified and to be defined clearly.

#### Ethics Cannot Be Codified

Hasan al-Basyuni, a legal counselor: Ethics cannot be codified. They are a matter of upbringing, faith and example that are reflected in the behavior of individuals and groups.

#### Law That Relies on Interpretations

Dr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Raziq, the Labor Party secretary general in al-Qalyubiyah, rejects this law and says that it will give any individual the right to interpret the behavior of others in a manner that makes them subject to penalties. In this case, interpretations are easy and the criteria are relative.

I believe that what we have in the ordinary law is sufficient. If there is an intention to embark on ethical reform, then we have the venerable Koran and the dictates of Islam on which the greatest civilization was founded.

I do not think that we should abandon this opinion which we have at our disposal and start an experiment, inspired by imagination, with 40 million people.

Dr 'Abd-al-Razzaq further says that shame is a relative issue that varies from generation to generation and from one country to another. Therefore, I believe that it is shameful for the citizen to remain silent and not to argue with the ruler. In advanced countries, the situation is such that the people bring the ruler's attention to what is shameful and the rulers censure the people for keeping silent on what is wrong. I believe that attaching a crime to such a relative thing constitutes an injustice to the

present generation and a stumbling block in the face of a more advanced generation that will follow, unless this law is intended for a short period of time after which it is abolished--as happened on 15 May when shackles intended to protect those who imposed them and not to codify the affairs of an entire nation were destroyed.

#### Law of Shame and Slogan of State of Science and Faith!

Citizen Hamzah al-Sharbini wonders: Who is this law for? Is it for the Egyptian people who believe in God and in his divine religions and who have been accustomed to noble ethics and to the morals of the Koran and of the venerable Sunna? Is it for the struggling Egyptian people who fought the crusaders and the British and French colonialism and who have resisted the alliances? Is it for the Egyptian people who have raised the slogan of the "state of science and faith?"

Hamzah al-Sharbini further says: We have never heard about a similar law in any other country.

I say very frankly that this law is alien to Egypt that has lived the correction revolution and that has raised the slogan of security and safety for every citizen and has liberated this citizen from fear and humiliation.

'Adil al-Makkawi, a student at a law college points out that the world views Egypt's democratic experiment with utter admiration and that the proposed law will make this world turn its face away from Egypt.

[Words missing] secure in his present and future and reassured about his livelihood, his housing and his transportation. As long as my family feels this, then none of its members will believe what is said about me. But if I fail in my duties toward this family, then my children may believe anything said, even though it may not be true. This is not a flaw in my children but a flaw in me.

O you officials, work for the good of the people and you will have to fear nothing published or said. Try to reform the flaw or the flaws before you think of issuing what you call a law of shame because if such a law is issued, you will be the first against whom this law which you are trying to issue now will be applied. Today is yours, tomorrow is against you.

The law student [sic] says: Egypt applauded and supported the glorious May correction revolution because it entrenched noble principles which had been absent from Egypt and from its deep-rooted people and because it bolstered noble values from which we will not deviate. Have those who are behind this law forgotten these gains? We don't want to go backward and we are not ready for such a return because we had lived in days when people and spirits were killed. We have regained ourselves with the May revolution and we have been breathing the first breezes of democracy.

### Let Us Talk About Shame Without Embarrassment

Student Hassan 'Ali Mansur from al-Hilmiyah al-Jadidah in al-Qal'ah says that the law of shame with all its contents, provisions and court is truly a model of the strangest laws--laws for which we find nothing similar on the face of the earth.

Whoever reads article three of the proposed law finds that it bans writings that arouse suspicions and threaten the government interests. Does this mean that anybody who criticizes the government will fall under the jurisdiction of the law?

Moreover, the proposed values court that is to try the violations pertaining to this law will be more of an administrative than a judiciary court because it will be formed of the majority party (4 members) and three judges and because the decision will be in the hands of the majority. Thus, the opponent will try his opponent! Doesn't this constitute intervention in the judiciary authority's work and a lack of confidence in the judiciary?

Let us discuss democracy without embarrassment. The entire world rose to rescue Zakharov, the dissident Soviet scientist. Isn't it our right to say that every Egyptian citizen wants to know where the democratic experiment is taking him?

### Laws Obstructing Political Action

Citizen Ibrahim Muhammad Hijazi, an employee of the Eastern Bilbays Supply Department, demands that all laws restricting liberties in Egypt, which has corrected its course with the 15 May revolution, be abolished. He also demands that the socialist prosecutor law be abolished.

He stresses that such laws make political action in Egypt risky.

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EGYPT

**LABOR PARTY TO CELEBRATE HOISTING PALESTINIAN FLAG**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Labor Party To Fly Palestinian Flag Today"]

[Text] The Socialist Labor Party will celebrate flying the Palestinian flag this evening. Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the party chairman, will hoist the flag at 1800 today at the party headquarters on 12-1-Crown Prince Street in al-Qubbah Gardens (Garage Station). The party chairman will talk to the journalists and the wire services on the Palestinian issue, on the Palestinian people's right to establish their state on their own soil and on the party's position vis-a-vis the Israeli intransigence. This will be followed by the party's weekly colloquium which will be on the same issue.

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CSO: 4802

JOURNALISTS UNION TO BOYCOTT ISRAELI ORGANIZATIONS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Journalists Union Boycotts Israeli Organizations"]

[Text] In its meetings under the chairmanship of Kamil Zuhayri, the journalists doyen, the Journalists Union Council issued a resolution to boycott the Israeli organizations in the unionist, professional and scientific fields until the Palestinian problem is solved.

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# LABOR PARTY WANTS NORMALIZATION LINKED TO PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, EVACUATION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 2

[Article: "Ibrahim Shukri Declares in Alexandria: Normalization of Relations Should Be Linked With Israel's Recognition of Palestinian People's Right To Establish Their State and With Complete Evacuation From Occupied Arab Territories"]

[Text] Ibrahim Shukri, the Socialist Labor Party chairman, has demanded that the steps to normalize the relations with Israel be stopped unless Israel recognizes the Palestinian people's right to establish their state, evacuates from all the occupied Arab territories and carries out the promises it made at Camp David.

The party chairman said: We are not trying to cause troubles with these demands. The ones causing the troubles are the Israeli leaders who are violating the spirit of Camp David. But we want the entire world to hear that the Egyptian people believe that there is no alternative to evacuation from their territories, from Jerusalem, from the Palestinian soil and from the Golan and that the Egyptian people fought for Palestine in 1948 before fighting the British colonialism on their own soil.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri pointed out in an address he delivered to a party conference held last Thursday at the Socialist Labor Party premises in al-'Attarin, Alexandria, Egypt's opposition to the Israeli settlement policy with its latest manifestation in the city of Hebron in the West Bank.

He said that the message that Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, sent to U.S. President Carter protesting this Israeli policy is not enough. There are those in Israel itself who oppose the settlement policy, in addition to the international organizations and the United Nations, led by Kurt Waldheim. Ibrahim Shukri added that we have to tell Israel to stop because there will be no exchange of cultural and economic relations without recognition of the Arab rights.

## Beware Economic Exchange With Israel

Ibrahim Shukri also brought up an important issue, namely that of the infiltration of Egypt's markets by Israeli goods before the start of the



normalization. He referred in this regard to an article published by Sa'id Sunbul, the editorial manager of AL-AKHBAR, in which the writer wonders about the means by which the Israeli goods have infiltrated the markets. We warn here of the danger of such infiltration to our national economy. Considering that the Israeli goods have already infiltrated, what will the situation be after the official exchange?

#### Labor Party Conducts Dialogue With Arab Parties

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri also declared that the Labor Party will conduct dialogue with the various Arab parties and organizations to mend the rift in the Arab ranks. He urged the other Egyptian parties to participate in this dialogue.

Shukri also stressed the need to resume Arab cooperation because it is the only path to Arab strength, especially since we are in the age of the major entities. He pointed out that the United States consists of 50 states and that the Soviet Union is comprised of various republics.

#### 'AL-SHA'B' is Gain for Democracy

Shukri pointed out that AL-SHA'B was published to reflect the free and sincere opinion and said that he imagines that it is not acceptable to all people but that it is a gain for the government, the Democratic National Party, President al-Sadat and the cause of democracy first and foremost.

Ibrahim Shukri pointed out that the other opinion is a viewpoint intended for correction and that correction is not confined to what is said to the People's Assembly but may consist of what is said to the local councils or in any other place.

Concluding his address, Shukri said: We are not against the regime. But we are for democracy and for the freedom of the parties to express their views. We want equal chances so that every citizen may select the party to which he wants to belong without any pressures.

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, the Alexandria youth secretary, had earlier addressed the conference welcoming Engineer Ibrahim Shukri and stressing that freedom can be gained only through struggle.

#### We Want More Liberties

'Amr Lashin, the Alexandria Governorate Labor Party secretary, then addressed the conference, demanding that more freedom be given to the other opinion on the basis of bolstering the democracy realized after the May revolution which gave the citizens some liberties. What would happen if these liberties become absolute?

### **Party and Its Paper Belong to Egypt First and Foremost**

Hamid Zaydan, AL-SHA'B chief editor, then took the floor to stress that the party and its newspaper belong to Egypt first and foremost. He said: We support whoever represents freedom, democracy and socialism and safeguards our people's political, economic and national accomplishments.

Zaydan urged the party members to participate in editing, distributing and exercising field control over the newspaper's distribution operations.

Hamid Zaydan also promised that AL-SHA'B will continue to be a protector of the honorable and sincere word, a defender of democracy and freedom and a platform for the free expression of opinion.

### **Arab Peoples Need Strong Egypt**

Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azzazi, member of the Labor Party's Parliamentary Committee for al-Husayniyah District of al-Sharqiyah Governorate, then addressed the conference, urging the Egyptian people to work and produce so as to form a firm economic base. He stressed that the Arab peoples, despite their wealth, will have no entity without the deep-rooted Egypt and that Islam cannot be strong without Egypt.

### **Israeli Flag Shouldn't Be at Expense of Palestinians**

Referring to the normalization of relations with Israel, al-'Azzazi asserted that hoisting the Israeli flag over the Egyptian soil cannot be at the expense of displacing the Palestinian people.

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the Labor Party assistant secretary general, then took the floor to stress that the party's goal is to serve the Egyptian people and to exert efforts for their prosperity. He said that the party's name has been derived from work because work, and not foreign loans and aid, is our only means to achieve prosperity for the people.

### **So That Democracy May Not Be Fake**

Speaking about democracy, Dr al-Hadidi underlined the need to give the other opinion the opportunity to express itself because democracy is a coin with two sides. If democracy does not give the opportunity to the other opinion, it turns into a fake one-sided coin.

### **Phrase of 'Exploiting Masses' Hardships' Will Not Intimidate Us**

Dr al-Hadadi stressed that the party will always work for Egypt, will always rebel for its sake and will not be intimidated by the phrase of "exploiting the masses' hardships."

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## IBRAHIM SHUKRI DEMANDS RESIGNATION OF MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim Shukri: "Minister of Justice Must Submit His Resignation"]

[Text] I had been determined that my article this week would deal with one specific topic and important event, namely the Israeli ambassador's presentation of his credentials to the chief of the state today and our lack of welcome for this step due to reasons explained by the pictures published on these pages and due to our objection to the personality of this Eliahu who has made clear his aggressive Zionist mettle with his statements on the West Bank and its being a part of Israel and on the freedom of the Israelis to settle there. It is as if Eliahu is still holding the machinegun and feeling for his dagger around his waist while standing behind his commander, Begin, in Dayr Yasin to give the orders for the collective murder of the unarmed inhabitants, including the embryos in the wombs of their mothers, so that a lesson may be derived from all this. But I then changed my mind and found that there is another important and urgent issue.

The issue of OCTOBER published this week carried an article by Anis Mansur attributing statements of President al-Sadat on the issue of the law of shame. I find it my duty to discuss this article because of its serious nature and so that it may not complicate matters further and we may not find ourselves facing a situation that is hard to tackle without enormous losses in terms of a correct understanding of democracy and of the state of institutions. We may be the first to be affected by these losses and others may follow.

After a phrase talking about people who have not known "what shame is," the article or the interview attributed to the president cites the following paragraph:

"Had they known it [shame], I would not have needed to prepare for them a law which I will submit to the Parliamentary Committee on 2 March prior to presenting it to the Council of Ministers.

"It is truly surprising that this law of shame has revealed another flaw in organizations that enjoy great respect. Even though the law discussed by respectable organizations was no more than one of the "drafts" leaked to these organizations, the hasty discussion was a double mistake and a premature anticipation of matters. All this has been done by grown up and mature men."

This paragraph is contained in a six-page article entitled: "Normalization and Other Relations." The entire article deals with views and ideas concerning the issue of normalization--an issue on which Anis Mansur has decided to establish the precedence and to take the initiative by declaring the steps and the concepts concerning this topic on the pages of OCTOBER magazine.

What is the connection between the law of shame and the normalization steps that makes Anis Mansur squeeze the said paragraph--with all its meanings and with all the interpretations that may be made concerning these respectable organizations that have committed a double mistake--in the interview?

Most of those who have discussed the law have consisted of the judiciary authorities with their various associations. It is true that there is the Lawyers Union and the Journalists Union, which are also respectable organizations. But the judiciary authorities have their respect, even their sanctity. What is more, President al-Sadat himself has been the man who has most strongly lauded the sanctity of the judiciary and the respect due the men of justice and law. An interview that may be interpreted--even wrongly interpreted--as infringing closely or remotely on the honorable men we have, namely our judges, should not have been published. And to whom is this interview attributed?

Who has led us to this situation? The finger of accusation points at the minister of justice. To start with, he is the government authority concerned with discussing such laws. He is also a member of the ruling party. Moreover, he is the man who headed the meeting of the Higher Judiciary Council to discuss the law of shame. What is more, he even held a press conference in which he discussed in detail the provisions excluded and the provisions retained, even though some people say he was not accurate in his presentation. However, this is not important.

The facts say that a National Party committee met and discussed a draft law of shame, that the minister of justice headed a meeting of the Higher Judiciary Council to discuss the draft law, that the socialist prosecutor took part in a meeting of the School of Law faculty--which is also one of these respectable organizations--and that the basics of the law have been published in AL-AHRAM. All this could not constitute irresponsible action. The publication of this law in the biggest newspaper and the one most closely connected with the government cannot be called an inaccurate report leaked to the press.



Was the presentation to the Higher Judiciary Council by the minister of justice a leaking of "a draft?" Was the publication of the law in its entirety in NADI AL-QADA' [Judiciary Club] on the 14th of the current month the result of a draft taken from a waste basket by a messenger who conveyed this draft to the respectable organizations? These organizations are respected and will continue to be respected in the people's conscience for their position toward attempts intended to topple all the guarantees that should be made available to the citizen so that he may be tried by his ordinary judge and in accordance with the bases acknowledged by the constitution--a constitution which we all have taken the oath to observe.

What has led us to all these labyrinths? Isn't it solely the failure of the minister of justice to completely carry out his responsibilities in his capacity as representative of the government which is accountable before us for its actions and which we have the power to accuse and to question?

The minister of justice stands at a press conference, urges all the people to discuss the law of shame and mentions whatever he mentioned concerning the Higher Judiciary Council. If what has been presented and published is a draft that fully contradicts the goals and basis of the law, then it was the duty of the minister to point out such contradiction.

We know that there is more than one legal circle that has dealt with this issue to prepare a draft of the law of shame. But it cannot be said that the criticism directed to this law by all the legists with all their organizations has been a double mistake. The fault, all the fault, lies in keeping silent over what is happening, whether it is the preparation of drafts to codify restrictions on the liberties, the preparation of a draft that permits arrest, prohibits departure from the country or employs custodianship, the introduction of the so-called political judiciary or of the final first-degree sentences or the installation of the innovated court as the sole authority that determines its own jurisdiction, not to mention other aspects contained in these bills or drafts.

The minister of justice to whom it has become obvious that the judiciary are unanimous in rejecting these bills and in rejecting his inclinations, being the government official concerned with and representing all these laws is the man who shoulders the responsibility. In the face of this rejection by all the judiciary, this minister must step down.

Moreover, the minister of justice is supposed to be the president's primary adviser on these matters. It is evident from what has been published and attributed to the president that the picture concerning the situation and concerning the manner in which the bill was presented to the judiciary authorities--all of which are represented in the Higher Judiciary Council which is chaired by the minister of justice--I say that it is evident that this picture has been inaccurate and that rejection of the bill cannot be judged as a double mistake committed by respectable organizations. The party that has caused the authorities, and even the president, to fall into this situation is the "esteemed" minister of justice. Therefore, he must submit his resignation.

Our self-respect, the respect due the democratic principles and, first and foremost, our respect for our judiciary authorities requires that the minister of justice submit his resignation.

We demand this immediately.

God is great and long live the people.

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C50: 4802



## CENTRAL AGENCY CRITICIZES EXCESSIVE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 4

[Article: "Central Organization and Administration Agency Discovers Presence of 2500 Undersecretaries and Directors General"]

[Text] Dr Hasan Tawfiq, the chairman of the Central Organization and Administration Agency, has criticized the government and public sector apparatus for its excess manpower and has said that the latest survey conducted by the agency has revealed that there are 2.4 million government workers and 1.4 million public sector workers.

The agency chairman has expressed his astonishment at this finding, saying that despite the accumulation of excessive manpower the Central Organization and Administration Agency is still surprised by government agencies that ask for the the appointment of more workers to fill their new grades and positions.

## One Hundred Sixty Thousand Messengers in Government Apparatus

Dr Hasan Tawfiq reveals a major farce in the number of messengers employed in the government apparatus. He said: We have conducted a study in the Central Organization and Administration Agency on the number of messengers in the government apparatus and have been surprised to find that they total 160,000 messengers. But what do they do? Nothing other than to stand there and greet and praise people. Dr Tawfiq said that the serious phenomenon lies in the fact that most of these messengers are under the age of 40.

The Central Organization and Administration chairman criticizes the employment structure in the government apparatus, saying: Unfortunately, we know nothing about it. Due to the lack of information on this structure, the government apparatus focuses on the aspect of financial grades and not on positions.

## Two Thousand Five Hundred in Government's Higher Administration

The chairman of the Central Organization and Administration Agency said that the agency has become aware that there are 2500 persons occupying higher administrative government positions with ranks ranging from undersecretary to director general. Still, all the ministries without exception are demanding the appointment of undersecretaries and directors general.

# STATE COUNCIL COUNSELORS REJECT LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "General Assembly of State Council Counselors Rejects Idea of Promulgating Law of Shame or of Setting Up Values Court"]

[Text] The General Assembly of the State Council Counselors met last Tuesday to study and discuss the current proposals and ideas on the promulgation of the law to protect values against shame in the light of what has been published in the national press and of what has been presented to the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities.

The General Assembly of the State Council Counselors adopted the following resolutions.

1. The formation of courts including in their composition non-judiciary members, even if they constitute a minority, is in violation of section four of the constitution concerning the judiciary authority. The constitution states that this authority is an independent authority under the charge of the courts which issue their sentences in accordance with the law, that the judges are independent and subject to no power other than that of the law and that they cannot be dismissed.

The constitution also entrusts the State Council with the power of settling administrative disputes. The provisions of section four of the constitution stipulate the right of every citizen to resort to his ordinary judge and state that no lawsuit may be brought before the courts without the orders of a judiciary authority. With its structure, the proposed [values court] is an extraordinary court for which the constitution makes no provisions. Therefore, it may not be set up.

2. The acts considered criminal in the said draft law and concerning values and shame are in conflict with the provisions of section three of the constitution which pertains to liberties and public rights and duties. These provisions state that personal freedom is a natural right that must be guarded and that may not be undermined. In the said section, the constitution guarantees the inviolability of homes, the citizen's private life, the freedom of belief, the freedom of opinion and of expression in word, writing

and illustration and the freedom of the press, of printing, of publication and of the information media. These provisions prohibit coercing the citizen to live in a certain place or area. The constitution also prohibits deporting any citizen from the country or preventing him from returning to the country. Moreover, the constitution guarantees the citizen the right to vote and to run for election.

The acts considered criminal by the said draft law jeopardize in a fundamental manner the essence of the aforementioned rights and liberties and undermine their value.

3. The proposed bill violates the provisions of section four of the constitution concerning the supremacy of the law. These provisions stipulate that there shall be no crime and no penalty except on the basis of a law. A crime is the act covered by the penal code--an act with its acknowledged components--and the penalty for such an act is administered by the ordinary courts in accordance with the criminal proceedings law. The acts considered criminal by this bill have no set components or clear definition, thus causing the bill to be in violation of all the abovementioned provisions. Moreover, values and shame are descriptions and not acts. Therefore, their components cannot be specified or defined, unlike the ordinary crimes.

Therefore, the General Assembly of the State Council Counselors has decided to reject the idea of the promulgation of a law of shame or of setting a values court for the following reasons:

First, the (draft law) calls for setting up extraordinary courts not stipulated by the constitution. This constitutes an encroachment upon the powers of the judiciary authorities and upon the citizen's right to appear before his ordinary judge.

Second, the ordinary judge, as stipulated by the constitution and by the laws in force, is the sole guarantee for realizing the supremacy of the law in freedom from self-interests.

Third, the draft law is in violation of the freedom of opinion and expression and of the other civil and political rights mentioned by the constitution.

Fourth, what is intended to be considered criminal is more within the sphere of qualities than of acts--qualities that cannot be defined or specified and whose components cannot be known.

From a position of responsibility, the General Assembly of the State Council Counselors asks the government to withdraw this bill and to abandon it, completely.

It is to be noted that Counselor Muhammad Tahir 'Abd-al-Hamid, the current chairman of the State Council, and Counselor Yusuf al-Shinnawi, the council's first deputy chairman, refrained from attending the two sessions held by the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities to discuss this issue.

During his chairmanship of the legislative section of the State Council, Counselor Muhammad Taha 'Abd-al-Hamid issued on 13 December 1973 a decision rejecting the participation of non-judges with the judiciary in a bill proposed at the time for the creation of dispute arbitration councils. The argument of the Ministry of Justice in presenting the bill at the time was that the bill was in implementation of article 170 of the constitution which calls on the people to participate in establishing justice in the most perfect manner and in the manner demonstrated by the law. The State Council thus rejected at the time the interpretation of the provision as one which permits the participation of non-judges in performing the message of the judiciary. If the provision was intended for such participation, it would have stated this clearly. The people's participation is actually realized through the citizens' observation of the law, through the bringing of lawsuits before the courts, through the people's participation in attending trials, through the citizens' participation in taking the witness stand, through stirring criminal lawsuits and through participation in the reconciliation and arbitration courts and in the administrative committees with judiciary powers. But to bring non-judges to take part in issuing sentences on lawsuits without such people possessing the guarantees, immunities and capabilities of the judges is something that is in violation of the provisions of the constitution.

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**ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY TEACHING FACULTY OPPOSED TO LAW OF SHAME**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Alexandria University Teaching Faculty Demands Law of Shame Be Stopped"]

[Text] Members of the Alexandria University teaching faculty have held an emergency meeting at their club to discuss the law of shame. The conferees concluded that this law will destroy freedom in Egypt and demanded that the promulgation of the law be stopped.

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**JUDICIARY REAFFIRM REJECTION OF LAW OF SHAME**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Judiciary Authorities Reaffirm Their Position Toward Law of Shame"]

[Text] Counselor Ahmad Junaynah, the deputy chairman of the Appellate Court and the chairman of the Judges Club, has presented a complete file on the opinion of the judiciary authorities regarding the draft law of shame in light of the bill published by AL-AHRAM and of the bill presented by the minister of justice to the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities.

The file contains the copy distributed by the minister of justice, the text published by AL-AHRAM, the report of the General Assembly of the Appellate Court counselors, the resolution issued by the assembly, the resolutions issued by the General Assembly of the State Council counselors, by the Executive Council of the Cairo Judges Club, by the General Assembly of the Alexandria judiciary and prosecution men and by the Egyptian judges in their meeting with the Executive Council of their club. The file also contains the scientific report prepared by the Cairo Law School teaching faculty on the bill.

These organizations had rejected the draft law of shame in light of the provisions of the bill published by AL-AHRAM and of the bill presented by the minister of justice to the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities.

The draft law of shame has also been rejected by the lawyers and journalists unions, by the teaching faculty of the Cairo University School of Law and by the Alexandria University teaching faculty.

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ALEXANDRIA MOSQUE ULEMAS OPPOSED TO LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Conference of Alexandria Mosque Ulama Rejects Law of Shame"]

[Text] On Sunday, 24 February 1980, the Union of Mosque Ulemas in Alexandria held a conference at al-Qa'id Ibrahim Mosque to discuss the draft law of shame. The conference has declared its absolute rejection of this which contains enormous violations of the Islamic Shari'a that acknowledges the freedom of faith and of opinion.

The conference was attended by the National Party secretary in Alexandria who declared that the president of the republic had stressed that the law as published does not exist at all.

The conference decided to remain in session until withdrawal of the draft law is declared.

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EGYPT

**MINISTRY OF INTERIOR REJECTS GROUPING PARTY'S REQUEST TO STAGE MARCH**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Cancellation of Grouping Party March To Protest Normalization of Relations"]

[Text] Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the Progressive Unionist National Grouping Party rapporteur, had submitted a request to the Ministry of Interior to permit the staging of a march to the Republican Palace in 'Abidin last Tuesday so as to present a memorandum containing the party's rejection of the normalization of relations with Israel and its rejection of the abolition of the boycott.

The Ministry of Interior refused to give the permit for the march.

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**LABOR PARTY FLIES PALESTINIAN FLAGS IN ALEXANDRIA**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Palestinian Flags Flown in Alexandria Squares"]

[Text] The Socialist Labor Party raised Palestinian flags in the squares of Alexandria and over the party offices in the governorate while the Israeli ambassador was presenting his credentials last Tuesday. The party's general secretariat in the governorate also held a general meeting in which 'Amr Lashin, the party's secretary general in Alexandria, delivered an address entitled the "martyred Palestine." All the party members pinned Palestinian flags to their chests and declared that the flags will remain there until the establishment of the Palestinian state, God willing.

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CSO: 4802

**LAWYERS UNION FLIES PALESTINIAN FLAG IN PROTEST OF NORMALIZATION**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Lawyers Union Flies Palestinian Flag"]

[Text] Last Tuesday, the Lawyers Union celebrated hoisting the flag of the Palestinian state over the union premises in protest of the start of diplomatic representation and of the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel despite Israel's intransigent position toward the self-rule negotiations and despite its failure to recognize the legitimacy of the Palestinian presence.

The celebration started at 1230 with flying the flag of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the flag of the Palestinian state over the union premises and with burning the Israeli flag amidst sweeping national sentiments and cheers for the Arabism of Palestine and Jerusalem and shouts for the downfall of Zionism.

Muhammad al-Mismari, a member of the Lawyers Union Council, delivered an address in which he said: From the first day of normalization, we are flying this flag for which thousands of our best youth have sacrificed their blood. We are raising this flag today so that the loyal patriotic forces may rally around it and struggle for it.

**Barring Transactions by Lawyers With Israel**

Muhammad al-Mismari then read the statement on boycotting any form of deals with Israel until the evacuation of the last Israeli soldier from Sinai and the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem.

Hamid al-Ashari, the Union Council member, then explained this resolution saying that it means barring all deals by lawyers with the Israelis as groups and individuals and that every Egyptian lawyer must abide by this resolution. The Union Council which has issued this resolution unanimously will not hesitate to implement it against whoever tries to violate it.

Muhammad Fahim, the Union Council member, also delivered an address in which he said: Palestine will not die.



## ALEXANDRIA LAW SCHOOL ALUMNI SAYS LAW OF SHAME UNNECESSARY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Association of Alexandria School of Law Alumni Declares: Conditions of Egyptian Society Don't Require This Haste; Law of Shame Undermines National Unity"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the Association of Alexandria School of Law Alumni has issued a statement on the law to protect values against shame. The statement says that out of a sense of a national feeling of responsibility, the officials should be made aware of the enormous flaws contained in this law.

The statement says that society's values are the essence of its personality and that it is a duty to protect these values against whatever may destroy or undermine them in any way and that the means for such protection are varied. These means are led by the good example followed by sound upbringing in the family and in the educational schools and institutes. Legislation comes last to deter those with whom the educational means fail and who do not follow good example. Legislation comes last to deter those with whom the educational means fail and who do not follow good example. Legislation is used to prevent others from following the example of individuals with whom upbringing and good example fail.

The statement further adds that resorting to penal legislation should be limited and should not be thought of as the ideal instrument for solving every problem that faces society. The Egyptian society's experience has shown that resorting to this means is futile at times and has adverse effect at others.

The conferees also said that the provisions contained in the draft law are excessive and in conflict with many of the principles established by the constitution and acknowledged by the legal traditions of the democratic systems. Moreover, the Egyptian society, both as individuals and as groups, has been and continues to be concerned with its values. This society's conditions have never been so unsettled as to threaten its values in such a serious manner that requires this drastic measure embodied in the bill to be promulgated.

The conferees have further added that they do not wish to dwell on discussing the many odd aspects connected with the formation of the [values] court, with the imbalance between the number of its judges and its members from the People's Assembly, with the court's investigation powers, with the finality of its sentences and with the court's power to reconsider its own sentences within a certain period of time after the issuance of these sentences. These matters with their oddity constitute the essence of the issue. Attempting to alleviate their effects by revising or amending them is a deviation from the basic issue and a preoccupation with the subsidiary aspects. If the basis itself is unacceptable, then preoccupation with the subsidiary is futile.

The conferees agreed that the conditions of the Egyptian society do not require in the current phase the promulgation of such a serious legislation because the existing legislation is sufficient to safeguard society and protect its values. The conferees have expressed the hope that the officials will respond to this sincere call and this selfless advice in order to safeguard the national unity and the social justice that have been jeopardized by this draft law.

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CSO: 4802

**CHEMICAL, NUCLEAR ENGINEERS RECOMMEND LINKAGE OF NORMALIZATION WITH SELF-RULE**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Chemical Engineering Branch: Linkage of Normalization Steps With Evacuation and Self-Rule"]

[Text] The General Assembly of the Chemical and Nuclear Engineering Branch of the Engineers Union has recommended that the full normalization of relations with Israel take place in gradual phases corresponding to full evacuation and the establishment of self-rule.

The assembly has also recommended that no cultural, unionist or engineering delegations be exchanged with Israel until evacuation of the last Israeli soldier and the establishment of self-rule.

Moreover, the assembly believes that the Nile waters are necessary for the Egyptian lands and that conveying these waters to any place outside the Egyptian borders is harmful to the Egyptian national economy.

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EGYPT

**LAWYERS UNION WARNS MEMBERS AGAINST DEALING WITH ISRAELIS**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Lawyers Union Warns Members Against Dealing With Israel"]

[Text] Muhammad Fahim, the Lawyers Union secretary general, has warned the lawyers in the name of the Lawyers Union Executive Council against dealing with the Israelis as individuals or as groups, saying that such dealings will expose any lawyer involved to questioning.

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CSO: 4802

LABOR PARTY STATEMENT ON EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE TREATY RE-PUBLISHED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 7

[Article: "Objective Position of Socialist Labor Party Toward Egyptian-Israeli Agreement Exposes True Nature of Current Israeli Position"]

[Text] On occasion of the week of speeding up the normalization of relations with Israel--a week during which Israel has flown its flag over its embassy in Cairo and during which its Cairo ambassador has presented his credentials and a week during which the Socialist Labor Party has flown the Palestinian flag--we are republishing the text of the party's statement on the Egyptian-Israeli agreement to reaffirm that the party's objective position when it insisted on discussing the original documents of the agreement is the same as its objective position today while it watches Israel abandon sound implementation [of the agreement] and Israel's endeavors to falsify interpretation of the provisions of the agreement.

Following is the text of the party's statement:

In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful:

Masses of the people in the Arab homeland:

While underlining its appreciation for the great efforts exerted by President Anwar al-Sadat and by the members of the Egyptian side during the negotiations that have led to the conclusion of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and on the basis of the contents of its program which states that Egypt is a part of the Arab homeland, that the Egyptian people are a part of the Arab nation and that peace with Israel has its military and economic dangers which require us to be constantly alert in order to protect our national security, the Socialist Labor Party declares to the Egyptian people, to the other peoples of the Arab nation and to all the peace-loving peoples that it has studied at the meeting of its Executive Committee and its Parliamentary Committee all the provisions and supplements of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and the letters exchanged on this treaty among the parties concerned.



After this deliberate study, the party stresses the following points:

First, the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty is a first step in a long trip toward the establishment of a just and permanent peace in the Middle East area and this step must be followed by other urgent and decisive steps for the full evacuation of Israel from the occupied Arab territories in Syria, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including Jerusalem.

Second, the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel cannot have the right atmosphere until the completion of withdrawal from all of Sinai.

The provision in the supplements of the treaty calling for the conclusion between Egypt and Israel of a cultural agreement, a trade agreement and an aviation agreement within 6 months of the initial withdrawal constitutes intransigence on the part of Israel. Moreover, Israel cannot gain the full conviction of the Egyptian people in these agreements until it withdraws its forces from every inch of the occupied lands and until it abandons its policy of evasion and of interpretations conflicting with the spirit and letter of the treaty, not to mention abandoning the statements based on a racist thinking. Therefore, the Socialist Labor Party cannot accept these claims [sic] or be reassured regarding the outcome of the cultural, trade and other agreements while Israel's armies occupy the territories of four Arab countries with the force of arms.

Third, the Socialist Labor Party also urges the masses of the Egyptian people to be fully vigilant and alert to confront the consequences resulting from the conclusion of the treaty so that Israel may not exploit the Egyptian people's faith in and love for peace to infiltrate their markets and to exploit the situation in order to realize Israel's economic interests at the expense of our national economy.

The Socialist Labor Party underlines its appeal to the Egyptian people to double their reliance on their national industry, to bolster and develop this industry so as to enhance its production and to exert intrinsic efforts to build the national economy without excessive reliance on foreign loans which escalate Egypt's debts and burden the future generations.

Fourth, Arab solidarity is one of the major mainstays for the triumph of the Arab cause and the Arab governments must bolster the unity of the Arab ranks out of abidance by the spirit and letter of the Arab League charter. While expressing its opinion on the treaty in this statement, the Socialist Labor Party believes that it is its duty to reaffirm the need for the Arab parties to participate in a general conference attended by representatives of the entire Arab people. The party also issues a call in the near future for convening this conference in Cairo after consultations with popular organizations in the Arab homeland to conduct a democratic dialogue aimed at uniting the Arab people's efforts to complete the liberation and to realize the comprehensive Arab development. All this emanates from our faith that Arab nationalism is the vessel of Arab struggle and that any resolutions that do not support such thinking cannot affect its march [sic].

Fifth, the party asserts that the principles of justice that have guaranteed Egypt's rights to restore its full sovereignty over its occupied territories must be the basis when the security arrangements are reconsidered in the future so as to insure and underline Egypt's complete sovereignty over its territories up to its international borders, including sovereignty of the state laws in accordance with the state's constitution.

The party further asserts that the principles of justice which have guaranteed for Egypt its full rights to restore its complete sovereignty over all its occupied territories also constitute a legal and historical right of all the other Arab peoples whose territories are occupied by Israel.

It must also be clear that Egypt's Arab commitments cannot be undermined by any interpretations because they are fateful commitments that precede any other agreements.

Sixth, having exerted big efforts to conclude this treaty, the United States is required to exert more pressure on its ally, Israel, to realize full and complete withdrawal from the Sinai, the Golan and the West Bank, including the Arab Jerusalem, as early as possible, considering that Israel has occupied them and drained their oil and mineral resources throughout the past 12 years.

Seventh, the Socialist Labor Party urges the United Nations, the Security Council and all the peace-loving peoples to exert further efforts to preserve the Palestinian people's rights to establish their free and independent state on their land in implementation of the United Nations and Security Council resolutions and of the international declaration of human rights.

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CSO: 4802

## SHUKRI RAISES PALESTINIAN FLAG OVER LABOR PARTY HEADQUARTERS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 80 p 9

[Article: "Palestinian Flag Flown Over Party's Headquarters in Face of Israeli Ambassador's Credentials"]

[Text] Amidst cheers by the Socialist Labor Party members chanting "Palestine is Arab, God is great and long live the Arab people," Engineer Ibrahim Shukri hoisted last Tuesday afternoon the Palestinian flag over the party's headquarters in al-Qubbah Gardens.

The flag-hoisting ceremony was attended by Fathi Radwan, the Socialist Labor Party leaderships, lawyers Nabil al-Hilali and Sabri Mubadda and a number of patriotic strugglers.

The Labor Party chairman then delivered an address in which he said: We are raising Palestine's flag at this moment. This flag is not just a piece of cloth. In our view and in the view of all the Egyptian people, this flag represents the determination that the Palestinian people have their own homeland and the right to live on their soil.

Though Israel has succeeded in having its flag flown over Egypt's pure soil and in having its embassy here, it must know that its flag is only one flag, that the issue is the issue of the Palestinian people and that peace cannot be established unless the Palestinians have their homeland.

While flying today this sacred flag for which thousands have been martyred, we pledge to continue the struggle for this flag. Though the Egyptian negotiator is encountering at present the intransigence of the Israeli negotiator and his determination to refuse to acknowledge the Palestinian people's right, there will come a day when the flag of Palestine will be hoisted over a Palestinian embassy in Cairo.

Lawyer Fathi Radwan then delivered an address in which he said: O fluttering flag, you are not a piece of cloth. You are the treasure of our hearts. They have lowered you from your high place and they think that your page is turned over. They lie because you are in the hearts and in the minds and you inspire us to exert efforts and to struggle. It is totally unacceptable that Israel should have a state on Arab territory. All of Palestine shall be for the Arabs. Let this flag be the witness to our oath and let us start as of today a long struggle so that the Palestinian flags may fly all over Palestine. Let God be the witness to our promise to struggle until Palestine is liberated.

**LABOR PARTY FORMS BRANCH IN AL-WAYLI**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Formation of Labor Party Branch in Greater al-Wayli"]

[Text] A branch of the Socialist Labor Party has been formed in the Greater al-Wayli. The branch includes Mustafa Mahmud al-Wakil as rapporteur and treasurer, 'Ali Muhammad 'Ali as assistant secretary and official in charge of communication, 'Abdallah al-Sayyid al-Jamal as secretary of the membership affairs section, Sayyid Hanafi as workers secretary, 'Ali Mustafa al-Hajjan as youth secretary and Zaynab 'Abd-al-Havjud Hasan as women's secretary.

The branch also includes in its membership Muhammad Amin Muhammad, Ahmad Musa 'Abd-al-Maqoud, 'Atiyah 'Atiyah Abu-al-'Aynayn and Ibrahim Fattuh Ima'il.

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**SHUKRI SAYS IT IS TIME FOR DECISIVE EGYPTIAN STANCE ON SELF-RULE**

Cairo AL-HA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim Shukri: "Decisive Position Required Toward Begin's Hysterical Statements; What Is 'Clear, Repugnant and Vacillating'"]

[Text] Whoever reads last week's papers after announcement of the Secretary Council resolution on the illegality of the establishment of Israeli settlements in the Arab territories and in Jerusalem and on the need to remove these settlements and whoever reads the reactions published in the wake of this resolution on the various fronts, whether in Israel, the United States or in Cairo, must ask: Is it true that an agreement was reached at Camp David to settle the Palestinian problem so as to establish lasting peace in the Middle East?

Can what is happening at present lead to an agreement on the 25th of next May or on any other date?

What did Begin say after he had been informed of the resolution? He spoke angrily and one of the words he used was "repugnant."

He may mean that the resolution is "offensive" or unsavory or unreliable. Most often, we use the word "repugnant" in describing a person to express our feelings toward such a person if his actions are bad and his character is rough and if he doesn't know how to act properly. Such a man never gives a sincere promise and never keeps a word of honor. Because of all of this, he is a repugnant man. But I must admit that this is the first time I hear this word used to describe a resolution issued unanimously by an international body.

Then comes the reaction to the resolution from the Zionist organizations and from the leaders of the Jewish community in the United States. They all march to the White House and besiege it with various kinds of pressure. The officials in charge of President Carter's election campaign get upset and the president issues an interpretation, an explanation or a modification through which he tried to alleviate the impact of the resolution and of its official approval by the U.S. delegate. This behavior has been described by the United



States papers and others as reflecting vacillation. Most often, we also refrain from describing a certain action or a certain resolution as vacillating but use this word to describe a person as vacillating if we find that such a person fails to stick to an opinion and is influenced by pressures. It is not safe to deal with such a person because he may conclude an agreement and then disavow it or may give his word and then fail to abide by it if pressure is exerted on him.

Then comes the turn of the reactions of the officials in Cairo and we read successive statements about our clear position and statements saying that the resolution has fully supported the Arab viewpoint and is considered another triumph.

We have chosen the path of negotiation and we have believed that peace and a solution to the problem can come through agreement among partners, all of whom have been described as responsible and equal. These partners did finally reach agreement at Camp David and a treaty and an accord were signed to open the path for settling the crucial problem, namely the Palestinian issue, so that the right atmosphere for peace may be created in the area.

After having read what Begin said to the Israeli Knesset and having read the statement made by Carter to reassure Begin regarding Israel's security, we wonder if the Camp David accords still have their justification and their respect insofar as Israel is concerned?!

Begin's statements have torpedoed every foundation of the Palestinian self-rule and of the right of the Palestinians to choose the form of their state. This is the basis on which the Camp David accords were established.

Evacuation from the Sinai was never a bone of contention even though Israel used it as an issue for bargaining.

Begin has made the following statements to the Knesset, and I quote AL-AHRAM of 7 March 1980: Israel rejects the United Nations appeal for putting an end to the establishment of settlements and for the removal of the settlements. Begin denounced hysterically the Council's resolution, especially the Council's demand that Israel remove the settlements which Begin described as a "barbaric demand," asserting that Israel fully rejects this resolution. He said: Jerusalem will remain Israel's capital forever and every Jew has the right to settle on Israel's land, including the West Bank and Gaza.

He added that it is the duty of the Israeli Government to complete this [settlement construction] as quickly as possible for reasons connected with security. He also said that the right to self-determination means one thing only, namely the creation of a Palestinian state. He further said that the creation of such a state means exposing Israel's security and existence to danger. Therefore, I declare in the name of Israel's Government that we will not permit the creation of such a state.

I will also cite the comment by Muhammad Zaki 'Abd-al-Qadir on these statements--a comment published in *AKHBAR AL-YAWM* of 8 March 1980: "What, in his logic, remains of the Camp David accords and what remains of the self-determination called for by these accords and over which negotiations are currently underway between the two sides?"

"After Begin subsides a little and after his zeal cools down, we will also ask him: Doesn't he think that he has renounced with this logic and with these statements the essence of the Camp David accords and renounced the true basis of these accords, namely the establishment of peace?"

I have meant to cite these statements--which have been described as hysterical and as renouncing the Camp David accords--from *AL-AHRAM* and *AKHBAR AL-YAWM* because these papers cannot be described as papers engaged in one-upmanship, seeking to obstruct the peace efforts or rejecting, like us, the acceleration of normalization at a time when the negotiations are faltering and producing no real progress toward the desired goals. The negotiations are still in the phase of interpreting the various phrases of "Israel's security," "the right to legislation" and so forth. What is meant by this is to waste the time and to obstruct the realization of any real results that demonstrate that the Camp David accords have not been a separate peace but a solution to the Palestinian problem. At the same time, the measures for complete normalization are proceeding actively and energetically and they are undertaken on the Egyptian side by the Egyptian minister of defense and on the Israeli side by the Israeli minister of defense who, as reported by *OCTOBER*, detected the strong similarity between Gen Kamal Hasan 'Ali and the picture of Mr Weizman, his uncle and the big Zionist leader.

The situation requires a stance and requires decision. It is not enough for our position to be clear and it is not enough for us to repeat our words about our clear goal, our straight intentions and our eagerness to establish the Palestinian self-rule and to realize the right of the Palestinians to determine their future. It is not enough for us to repeat our words about the Arabism of Jerusalem and about our adherence to this Arabism. These repeated statements are bearing no fruit at a time when Israel is marching forward and realizing all it wants to realize, such as gaining full recognition, establishing its embassy in Cairo and keeping the media busy with the activities of his excellency the ambassador here and there and busy with the consecutive steps to accelerate all the normalization steps. There is no sign of any progress in the negotiations. On the contrary, we find these statements made by Begin to the Knesset.

Till when will this lax position persist and to what extent can this silence over Israel's provocation be maintained? We demand that the government take a decisive position by stopping all talk about completing the normalization steps and about entering into new rounds of negotiation similar to the current negotiations that are revolving in a vicious circle.

There must be full linkage between progress in the negotiations to establish the Palestinian self-rule and any further steps for normalization. We find no acceptable or logical explanation for withdrawing the work of the normalization committees from the sector of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is the authority responsible for the negotiations. What is more, the situation created by the presence of the prime minister in the position of the minister of foreign affairs, and the presence along with him of a minister of state for foreign affairs, is an ideal situation for full linkage and for taking advantage of the aspects of normalization that can be used to motivate progress in the self-rule negotiations.

As it stands currently, the situation leaves the impression that what concerns us primarily is to normalize the relations between Egypt and Israel regardless of any action taken by Israel to torpedo the basis of the accords, whether in regard to establishing a real peace or establishing the Palestinian self-rule. We must disperse this impression with a decisive stance because clarification is no longer enough. If such a stance is not taken, then we will become fully entitled in the Socialist Labor Party to reconsider our previous positions toward the peace accords, considering that all the reservations that we expressed in the resolution [not further specified] have proven to be right and considering that the matter requires a new examination in the light of Israel's conduct and its backing down on the principles of the accords, and even in light of the vacillation in the positions of the second partner [United States].

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**SHUKRI, PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY MINISTER ARGUE OVER ISSUE OF JERUSALEM**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 4

[Article: "Heated Argument Between Ibrahim Shukri and Minister for People's Assembly; Ibrahim Shukri Asks Assembly To Issue Statement on Arabism of Jerusalem and Minister for People Assembly Censures Labor Party for Raising Palestinian Flags"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Socialist Labor Party chairman, touched off an important issue at the People's Assembly session of 1 March 1980 when he asked the assembly to issue a statement similar to the one issued by the government after the Egyptian ambassador presented his credentials in Jerusalem--a government statement which declares Egypt's adherence to the Arabism of Jerusalem regardless of how long the Israeli occupation persists.

Ibrahim Shukri said: It would have behooved us to insist that the Egyptian ambassador refrain from presenting his credentials in Jerusalem so that we may not need to issue such statements.

The minister of state for the People's Assembly affairs interrupted Engineer Ibrahim Shukri to say: The position of the government and of the National Party vis-a-vis Jerusalem is clear but it is the tradition that ambassadors present their credentials at the residence of the head of state to which they are accredited!

The minister also said that the ambassador's presentation of his credentials in Jerusalem does not at all change Egypt's clear and firm position regarding the Arabism of Jerusalem.

The argument heated up when Engineer Ibrahim Shukri said in comment on the minister's statements: We want the assembly to issue a statement underlining Egypt's position toward the Arabism of Jerusalem because what has happened may give the impression of a tacit Egyptian recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

At this point, the minister interrupted Shukri again to say: What the opposition leader is talking about is nothing more than superficial and routine steps that do not affect the crux of the issue. Ibrahim Shukri's position

toward the normalization process and toward the exchange of ambassadors on 25 February and what he has said at the Labor Party headquarters are secret to nobody, especially since he has published a picture of the Palestinian flag in AL-SHA'B.

At this point of the argument, Ibrahim Shukri asked the assembly speaker to stop the minister where he should be stopped, asserting that AL-SHA'B is free to publish what it deems right and that it will continue to publish and work for Egypt. Shukri described what the minister had said about the Socialist Labor Party meetings as being within the framework of acts of espionage against the party headquarters and newspaper, stressing that the Labor Party accepts spying under no circumstances.

In an attempt to pacify the situation, Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker addressed the minister of state for the People's Assembly affairs and told him that the assembly has nothing to do with what is published in the press because this is one thing and what occurs inside the assembly is another and that it is not right to argue and to task people for what is published in the press.

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CSO: 4802



ISRAEL DENIED PERMIT TO FILM MOVIE IN EGYPT

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 3

[Article: "Israeli Intellectual Invasion Operations Have Started; Plan for Big Israeli Film on 'Exodus From Egypt' That Attacks Historical Facts and What Sacred Books Say"]

[Text] Egypt, for purely scientific reasons--has refused to permit Israel to film a movie entitled the "Second Exodus" in some parts of Egypt, especially Luxor, al-Sharqiyah, the canal and Sinai, to record the events of the Jewish exodus from Egypt in ancient times.

The reasons cited by the Egyptian archeologists and historians for rejecting the film are based on the fact that the story of the film, written by Israelis and Americans, is full of scientific and historical distortions and religious distortions that are in conflict with what the three sacred books, including the Old Testament, say.

The rejected film tries to portray the Jews as having been persecuted and enslaved in Egypt and to portray "Pharoah and his soldiers" as having pursued the Jews when they started their exodus from Egypt to force them to return so that they could be made to continue to work as servants and slaves.

"Exodus," the second chapter of the Bible, says that the Jews perpetrated the biggest act of fraud and swindling in the history of mankind--an act by which they got hold of the easy-to-carry and expensive jewelry and precious possessions of the Egyptians and fled by night. This is why Pharoah led his soldiers to chase the escaping thieves, the Jews.

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CSO: 4802

**DROP IN SUGARCANE PRODUCTION BLAMED ON GOVERNMENT**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 80 p 10

[Article: "People's Assembly Members Hold Government Responsible for Drop in Sugarcane Crop and Warn Against Failure To Cultivate It"]

[Text] The sugarcane crop is one of the important crops on which a gigantic and deep-rooted industry in our country, namely the sugar industry, is based. Other industries, such as the alcohol industry, paper pulp industry and the granulated wood industry, rely on the sugar industry. Despite all this, the sugarcane crop is not getting sufficient attention in our country and farmers are about to stop cultivating it. What are the reasons for this?

A report by the People's Assembly Agriculture and Irrigation Committee asserts that sugarcane production is dropping year after year and that this is due to the small profit earned by the farmer. This will naturally make farmers stop cultivating the crop.

The report cites serious figures concerning the sugarcane crop. It points out that the average production per feddan has dropped by 6.26 tons from the 1971-72 season to the present, i.e. it has dropped by 16.3 percent. This is a big drop, even though the average production last season was better than that of the previous season. This season's crop value amounted to 11,384,982 pounds. The report indicates that this means that it was possible to produce more than 113,000 tons of sugar, thus reducing the state imports of this commodity which amount to 400,000 tons. This is in addition to the subsidiary production based on the sugar industry. In other words, the farmers and the state will realize a profit equal to this loss if the productivity per feddan is restored to what it used to be. It thus becomes evident that it is important to bolster the research in this field in order to restore the previous productivity.

**Loss of Sugarcane Farmers**

The report adds that the constant drop in the average production per feddan of sugarcane and the constant increase in the costs of cultivating this

crop have led to a drop in the net profit from this crop even though the crop prices have risen more than once and have reached 10 pounds per ten compared to 2.75 pounds per ton in 1972. In any case, sugarcane farmers still lose 3.6 pounds per feddan.

The report stresses the need to allow sugarcane farmers to earn a proper profit for their crop so that they may have the incentive to continue producing and devoting attention to this crop. The producers' fear of loss may lead to neglecting some or all of the agricultural operations needed to produce the crop in the best manner possible. The report further stresses that it is necessary to reconsider the price of the ton of sugarcane so as to give the farmer an incentive to produce an excellent revenue for the national income.

#### **This Is Reason for Drop of Productivity Per Feddan of Sugarcane**

Dr Mahmud Dawud, the minister of agriculture, says that the reason in the drop of productivity of sugarcane per feddan is due to expanding sugarcane cultivation into poor lands and deterioration in the quality of the types of sugarcane cultivated in Egypt.

#### **Prison Easier Than Sugarcane Cultivation**

Member Sa'd Bashir, from the Labor Party, has demanded that a balance be established between sugarcane prices and the income of farmers from other crops so that the farmers may not refrain from cultivating sugarcane. He said: If a decision is not taken immediately to raise the price of sugarcane, the farmer will turn to the cultivation of other crops, even if this leads him to violate the crop cycle and to end up in jail. It is unreasonable for the farmer to continue cultivating a crop that causes him a loss and on which the farmer is often forced to spend from his own pocket. The high cost of living makes it necessary for the farmer to reap a profit from this crop.

#### **Government Is Main Culprit**

Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Ghul has said: The minister of irrigation and land reclamation who left the assembly hall and has failed to attend the discussion on this important issue which is connected with a general crop supporting one of the oldest industries in our country is fully responsible for the deterioration of the sugarcane crop. The deputy added that production per feddan has dropped from 45 tons to 32 tons not because of the farmer. The lack of attention on the part of the government is the main reason for this catastrophe.

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CSO: 4802

NATIONAL PARTY PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE URGED TO STUDY LAW OF SHAME CAREFULLY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial by Hamid Zaydan: "Before They Say Yes"]

[Text] The Democratic National Party's Parliamentary Committee will hold an important, historic and fateful meeting today to discuss the new bills, including the draft law of shame and the Arab reality paper.

We respect the National Party members generally and the members of the selected Parliamentary Committee in particular.

Regardless of the election conditions under which some of these members came to fill their seats, they ultimately represent the Egyptian people's masses, they experience the hardships that these masses experience and they can never be separated from the people by the fact of their being representatives of a ruling party and the fact that some of them imagine that they are in power and that this power protects them from being exposed to any hardship or any problem experienced by the ordinary citizen.

These members suffer even from the problems of supply, consumer commodities, housing and transportation, the problems of education and of the health services and all the other problems from which we suffer because they are a part of the Egyptian people as we are, like them, a part of the Egyptian people.

Though we may differ with them as a party at times, we do not disagree as individuals, as citizens and as friends. When I wrote in this column that we have many friends in the National Party, I fully meant what I said, whether at the level of the party's broad base, the level of its Parliamentary Committee or the level of its leadership.

Moreover, we as a party do not disagree with the National Party itself on the national issues.

We do not disagree on pan-Arab or fateful issues because the dangers threatening the Egyptian national security will not hit the opposition and leave the ruling majority untouched. The enemy does not discriminate between us and we are both the target of any danger threatening our country.

If we disagree, then we only disagree on practice and details and we warn of the danger of the particulars that may give the enemy rights or advantages that he may transform into a superiority with which he threatens our nation and exposes us to dangers that threaten both ourselves and the ruling party.

Because of all this, today's meeting does not mean that a ruling party will remain in power forever and that this party will draft a legislation with which it will try both the ruled and the opposition.

I appeal to the members of the Democratic National Party's Parliamentary Committee to remember at every moment that time runs in circles and that a ruling party under a democratic system may become a ruled party and that a law that you draft while in power may be applied to you when you are in the opposition or outside the People's Assembly, even if your party is in power, if your party refrains from nominating you in future elections, if it nominates you and you lose or if your party itself is ousted from power.

For all this, I appeal to the esteemed members to exercise their full right to read and study carefully and to take enough time to read and study before they say yes.

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CSO: 4802



ULEMA OUTLINE ISLAM'S OPINION IN LAW OF SHAME

Caf 99 AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Alexandria Mosque Ulemas Declare Islam's Opinion in Draft Laws of Shame"]

[Text] The Union of Alexandria Mosque Ulemas will hold a conference next Sunday at al-Qa'id Ibrahim mosque after the evening prayers to outline Islam's opinion in the draft laws of shame.

The union had held a conference on the 24th of last February and adopted a resolution to consider itself in constant session until withdrawal of the draft law of shame is declared officially.

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CSO: 4802

# NILE RIVER SAID DYING FROM POLLUTION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 4

[Article by 'Izzat Sami: "Nile Is in Danger and Its Waters Are Polluted"]

[Text] The Nile River, the only source for the various aspects of life in Egypt, is suffocating and is about to die. This is the serious situation in which the Nile--the river whose beauties the poets have sung and whose waters the ancient Egyptians worshipped, describing the river as the giver of life and taking pains to celebrate it and to offer it gifts and sacrifices--has ended.

This serious fact has been revealed by a study conducted by nearly 80 Egyptian scientists representing six Egyptian universities. The study has been conducted under the supervision of the Scientific Research and Technology Academy in cooperation with the University of Oklahoma in the United States. The study has continued for nearly 5 years and has covered Lake Nasir and the course of the Nile River throughout Egypt.

The conclusion made by the study has been revealed by Dr Fahmi Ramadan, the secretary general of the National Research Center, who said that the study "has made it clear that the Nile waters have acquired undesirable qualities during their flow in the valley as a result of the population and agricultural activity and of the use of the river as a water route. All this has produced big pressure on the water purification plants because the water needs to be purified constantly."

The scientific study conducted on the Nile waters has proven that the rate of chemical and bacteriological pollution is high and that liquid and solid wastes are dumped into the river.

The international seminar held to study the medical and biological effects of the transfer of technology--a seminar held in Cairo last month with the participation of 500 Egyptian and U.S. scientists--discussed the issue of the pollution of the Nile River waters and demanded the formation of a "national council" or a special agency to protect the Nile waters from pollution, considering that it has become evident that there is no specific authority in Egypt responsible for protecting the Nile from pollution.

## LEGAL RAMIFICATION OF SUPPLYING NILE WATER TO ISRAEL EXAMINED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 6

[Article by Engineer 'Abd-al-Khalik al-Shinnawi, Former Minister of Irrigation: "Egyptian Irrigation Engineering Pioneer Warns: Delivery of Nile Waters to Israel Poses Threat to Our Projects With Sudan, Zaire and Uganda"]

[Text] Our Egyptian and Arab nation is living in a fateful phase during which history and everyone who has held a position of responsibility at any level watch the succession and surprises of the events and the course and development of the international and regional relations. Today, matters are different from what politicians have been accustomed to because the events bring every day something new and invisible and an unexpected transformation. Legitimate rights have again become subject to the logic of historical claims, of national security, legitimate self-defense, defending the friend, preventing foreign intervention, preventing expected aggression and other names that rearrange rights and permit what is barred.

With this in mind, the national duty has urged us to write on an issue circulated in rumors and chitchat recently. It is an issue that affects life in Egypt like nothing else does. It is the Nile water.

All the sources of the Nile water are outside Egypt and yet Egypt has, since the dawn of history, exploited more than 80 percent of this resource.

This has been due to the Egyptian civilizational initiative--initiative in irrigation and in water control--which has given Egypt a historical right of utilization that [protects] the interests of our people. The colonialists, even at the peak of their might and oppression, and the governments all along the Nile basin, even after their independence, have not been able to dispute or bargain over this right.

The Egyptian people's interests and preservation of the Egyptian people's survival have taken top priority. In 1929, the British colonialism was forced to conclude with Egypt a treaty that preserves all of Egypt's rights to the Nile waters and that bars any of the states on the Nile basin from building or constructing any project that could reduce or affect Egypt's resources from and rights to the Nile.

When we wanted to build the High Dam so as to have full control over the river flow and to increase our resources from it, the entire world--represented in England, the United States, the World Bank and, later on, the Soviet Union--made it conditional that Egypt agree with Sudan on the share of each of them from the Nile waters.

An agreement was signed in 1959 between Egypt and Sudan to share the Nile waters, making Sudan's share from all the river sources 18.5 billion [cubic meters] and Egypt's share 55.5 billion [cubic meters], provided that every single drop of water made available in excess of these amounts be divided between the two sides equally.

This agreement was preceded in the early 1950's by another agreement with the government of Uganda (which was then under British protection) to guarantee a flow of 600 cubic meters per second throughout the year at the source of the Nile near [Lake] Victoria and to store water constantly in Lake Victoria, provided that compensations be paid for increasing the water flowing into the river during the summer.

It is evident from this that Egypt's power to use the Nile waters is based on historical and indisputable utilization and exploitation rights. But these rights have been regulated by bilateral agreements that will continue to be effective as long as Egypt continues to observe these agreements and to preserve the political and economic interests of the parties involved.

In assessing its rights, Egypt based its estimates on its actual consumption of the Nile waters and on its ability to expand into new cultivable areas to meet the essential living requirements of its citizens whose numbers are increasing constantly. But Egypt's arguments will collapse if Egypt embarks on any action that could destroy or cast doubt on this argument.

Despite all the political conditions accompanying the constant occupation and aggression against it, Egypt has never subjected its water interests to political considerations and maneuvers. Throughout its history, Egypt has never agreed to have the issue of the Nile and of its waters constitute an element of political compromise or of international commitments. Any of the parties cooperating with Egypt at present in regulating the Nile resources can demand that Egypt's historical right be reconsidered and that its actual needs be reassessed on the basis that Egypt has permitted a third party to benefit from the Nile water and to acquire a right to these waters, regardless of the meagerness of the quantity of the water or of the purpose behind acquiring it, especially since this party is as remote as can be from the Nile waters and since it is not one of the states located on its basin.

Should this happen, God forbid, the 1959 agreement will become void and Sudan will be able to proceed to implement major water storage projects that can cause fatal damage to Egypt's interests and life.



It is no secret that in accordance with the 1959 agreement, Egypt, as well as Sudan, has the right to reassess the average annual flow of the Nile River in order to reassess the (share) of each of the two sides. There is nothing to prevent either side from making this request now.

When Egypt gives itself, in accordance with the agreements and with the fraternal joint cooperation, the right to make count of every drop of water drawn by Sudan from the White Nile waters or from the main Nile through the use of pumps with limited power and then deducts this from Sudan's share;

When a Sudanese engineer in the High Dam in Aswan reviews Egypt's actions to make sure that it does not exceed its stipulated share and when the relations between the two fraternal countries are so precise in assessing every drop of the Nile water, how can one of the two sides supply a part of the Nile water, regardless of how small or large, to a third party?

For years, Egypt and Sudan have been exerting supreme efforts to include the Nile basin countries in the current studies to develop the Nile resources. The Egyptian Government's efforts have succeeded in bringing the nine countries of the Nile basin into a joint council. There is no doubt that the bond of this cooperation which has been sought for long years will break altogether if these countries feel that we export the Nile water to another country which is not a friend, which is not located on the Nile basin, which is located in another continent and which is still committing aggression against the territories of other countries that are friendly to them.

Delivering the Nile waters to Israel through Asia will give Israel rights that will commit the future Egyptian generations and future citizens of the Nile basin countries generally. It will also give Israel a new claim to utilization rights to the Nile waters and a claim to interfere in our affairs to protect its interests against whatever may threaten them or to increase its resources from this water.

Egypt and Sudan face major projects that have to be implemented in the Upper Nile, in Sudan, in Zaire and in Uganda. These are projects on which agreement has also been reached, whose costs and water benefits are to be shared by the two countries and which will provide an additional source of water equal to the water that the High Dam gives both countries.

We do not doubt that the flow of a single drop of the Nile water to Israel will totally eliminate any hope for carrying out these projects.

Egypt is the gift of the Nile and it is not our duty to muster the Nile to give life to our nation's traditional enemies.

The bond of fraternity and friendship among the Nile basin countries is an organic bond among peoples that drink from the same source and no other people have the right to share with us the water of a basin and of a resource to which they do not belong.

Peace is a great objective and coexistence among peoples is a goal that is understood by the strong. But the natural resources of a people belong to these people and to their future generations until kingdom come. It is our hope to present all the facts and dimensions of this issue, trusting that this will block the path in the face of the circulated rumors and of the maneuvers being contemplated by some people.



# PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ASKED FOR URGENT SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF NUBIANS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 7

[Article: "Ibrahim Shukri Demands Formation of Committee To Solve Problems of Nubia Inhabitants"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Labor Party chairman, has asked the People's Assembly to form a committee to pay an on-the-spot visit to the inhabitants of Nubia in their new settlement (mihjar) so that the committee may familiarize itself with their problems and may formulate urgent solutions to be carried out by the various ministries.

The opposition leader has also demanded that the inhabitants of Nubia be compensated and given an honorable life because they have sacrificed heavily for the prosperity of Egypt and because they abandoned their original place of residence so that the High Dam may be built.

He said: We have reaped the fruit of the High Dam whereas they have paid a heavy price. I have personally experienced the problems faced by the Nubian citizens in Kawn Ambu and only a man who has lived with their problems can appreciate their feelings.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri added: "While demanding today that they be compensated for their enormous sacrifices, I am only demanding that they be shown gratitude in accordance with the genuine Egyptian ethics."

The opposition leader further said: Yesterday we talked about a (perfect future Sinai) and today we are talking about Nubia and the Nubians who have also sacrificed heavily for the sake of Egypt and who must be compensated for their losses and their sacrifices.

## Tormented on Earth

Abu-al-Wafa Ramadan, the Aswan deputy (from the Socialist Labor Party), demanded that the government care for the Nubians and that it exert efforts to solve their problems. He also demanded that the sons of Nubia be accepted in the universities and higher institutes and that they be housed in the university towns.

He said that the Nubians are among the tormented on earth because they left their original place of residence and moved to a barren area lacking the requirements of a decent life for the citizen.

Deputy Sayyid Jalal (from the Labor Party) defended the Nubians and said that they lost everything when they were moved to their new place of residence and that they deserve utter attention and efforts to solve their problems.

Deputy Hasan Jamal (from the National Party) said: Engineer Ibrahim Shukri has expressed my feelings and the feelings of the Nubians. Deputy Jamal thanked the opposition leader in the name of the Nubians.

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C80: 4802

ISRAEL'S REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN CAIRO FAIR TURNED DOWN

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 7

[Article: "Snaps From Cairo International Fair"]

[Text] Israel submitted a request to participate in the Cairo International Fair in Nasr City, especially in the wake of the normalization of relations. However, the fair management has turned down the Israeli request until after full Israeli withdrawal and until the Palestinian people are granted all their rights.

Sudan is the only Arab country participating in the Cairo International Fair.

The Cairo International Fair management insists that the number of states participating in the fair is 30 whereas the actual number is 29.

Argentina is the country that asked to be excused from participating 24 hours before the opening of the fair.

Whoever visits the Cairo International Fair in Nasr City runs short of breath because the area of the fair is 500,000 square meters and because there is no means of transportation inside it. AL-SHA'B told Faruq al-Baqari, the chairman of the Fairs Authority, that if the management wants the fair to succeed then it must provide means of transportation inside the fair so that it may give the visitors the opportunity to see the pavilions of all the participating countries. The chairman of the Fairs Authority said that he will look into this.

On the opening of the Cairo International Fair, the ministers and the foreign ambassadors were not able to accompany Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil because of the large crowds.

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CSO: 4802

## FAHMI URGES REASSESSMENT OF EGYPTIAN POSITION ON SELF-RULE NEGOTIATIONS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 pp 8, 9, 14, 15

[Article by Isma'il Fahmi: "Isma'il Fahmi Poses Several Questions: Where Is Our Position Toward PLO, Palestinian People's Right to Self-Determination and Toward Israeli Framework for Negotiations; Israel Issues Three No's: No to Palestinian State, No to Return to 1967 Borders and No to Partition of Lands"]

[Text] Last week, I demanded that Egypt take a pause. What I meant is that we should take a pause with ourselves in order to assess the situation calmly and in order that we may not rush into a current that leads us away from the national principles so that we may not be out of control if we want to modify the course and so that the results may not be the opposite of what we seek.

I also meant that Egypt should take a pause with the new friends--a pause that will make it impossible for this friend to lead us all into intricate labyrinths that enable him ultimately to achieve all his goals, thus making Egypt and Israel look as if they are in a holy alliance and as if their positions are surprisingly identical.

I demanded all this because I, like other Egyptians, am truly perplexed. The perplexity is not due solely to the multiplicity of events and to the positions that have developed and will develop insofar as the Middle East crisis is concerned but, and this makes matters more confusing, due to the many conflicting statements made by the officials on the same position, and even on the same topic, for occasion and for no occasion. On the other hand, the silence of the officials and of the official information media that reflect the opinion of these officials on many of the major concepts of peace is also perplexing.

All this while we find that the Israeli Government, even at the highest levels, lets no position expressed by any head of state, government or official or even any rumor go by without reiterating and reaffirming its position which has not changed at all, despite the peace initiative and despite what has been done so far.

## **Reactions**

Such reactions include the Israeli Government's reaction to: First, the latest Security Council resolution concerning the settlements, particularly the U.S. vote in support of the resolution initially and then the retreat by U.S. President Carter. There is then the Israeli Government's reaction to the courageous, constructive and frank position declared by President Giscard d'Estaing during his historic tour of the Gulf states when he explained clearly France's position toward the comprehensive and just peaceful solution and when he reaffirmed the absolute right of the Palestinians to determine their future and of the Palestinian people, whose rights and land have been usurped, to be represented by the PLO as their sole legitimate representative. Thus, it can be said clearly that the French President--the representative of this deep-rooted country, this country of justice, equality and fraternity--has fully adopted the Rabat summit resolutions while acknowledging Israel's right to live within recognized borders.

## **Position of d'Estaing's France**

This position has been spontaneously responded to and supported by German Chancellor Schmidt and by the British, Italian, Belgian, Luxembourg and Irish governments. Their position is not strange to France--de Gaulle's France--because this France has a clear and distinctive policy established on principles from which it does not deviate. This France, under the leadership of President Giscard d'Estaing, has crystallized its full position and has not concealed it. Rather, France has declared this position with well-known French clarity and logic which have been radiating at the Arab and international levels during the recent tour of the Gulf states and of Jordan.

It is evident that this position will lead shortly to receiving Yasir 'Arafat and an official recognition of the PLO, considering that France, and others, has actually received Faruq al-Qaddumi at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has permitted opening a PLO office in Paris.

Israel has not remained silent in the face of this clear French position but has recruited all its establishments, and at the highest level, and a statement was issued by the Israeli Government reaffirming Israel's position which rejects the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and any dealings with the PLO. Israel's anger was so sharp that it has been summarized by Israel in words that the Arab world had previously used in the famous Khartoum summit when it adopted the policy of the three "no's." Israel has learned the lesson and has expressed its position in the so-called two "no's": "No" to the right of self-determination and "no" to the PLO. The recent history of the Middle East tragedy--and its cause is Israel--records that Israel launched a raging political and propaganda war against the conference of the three "no's" in Khartoum.

The Israeli press and information media report whatever is connected with the Middle East crisis so that the Israeli people may be familiar with it.



While all this is happening and is being said by and on behalf of Israel and while all the foreign information media continue to report the international reactions to the French president's visit and to what he has expressed clearly regarding the Arab right, we find that throughout and after the French president's visit, the Egyptian information media failed to report not only on the major and obvious accomplishments and on the vast support for the Palestinian right but that our official information media even failed to mention anything on the visit and failed to perform the fundamentals required by the profession of the pen, namely to report the news as it happens and as it is to the Egyptian people. This failure has been so clear that it has turned our media into the subject of comment of all the foreign news agencies and information media, both written and heard.

It would have been more beneficial, at least in my evaluation, for the Egyptian media to report what happened. At the same time, the media retains the absolute right to comment in support of, in opposition to, or even neutrally toward, the events.

Not only this, but it has also been noticed that the published statements attributed to some officials tried to cast doubt on the effectiveness of what the French president said.

All this is in utter conflict with what Egypt has repeatedly said about the need for the West European countries to perform a positive, helpful and decisive role to push forward the wheel of comprehensive peace on the basis of the firm and direct connection between peace and stability in the Middle East and in Europe.

It is natural that all this would lead us to astonishing perplexity. Many have come to wonder whether the Egyptian media's refrainment from covering the French president's visit and from welcoming what he said, which is something that pertains to the crux of the fundamental issue, represents the official position of Egypt and whether Egypt, both the government and the media, no longer support the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. These people also wonder if Egypt's official position has become the position of not recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The question that poses itself clearly is: Does Egypt still abide by its position regarding the need for the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and to be represented by the PLO in the comprehensive solution? Or is support for these two basic principles in fundamental conflict with what took place at Camp David? The question is raised and an answer with the same clarity is required so that we may know where we stand and where we are heading.

It is strongly hoped that this calm account will not be considered some kind of criticism. The motive for this question and for others is the astonishing silence regarding, or at least the intentional failure to reaffirm or clarify, Egypt's position. We must know where we stand vis-a-vis

these two fundamental points because supporting them will inevitably lead to the aspired fundamental target, namely the creation of a Palestinian state through which the Palestinian people regain their usurped rights.

At the same time, failure to support these two principles will not at all lead to the target agreed upon at the Arab and international levels but will automatically lead to the application of the Israeli theory on preventing the establishment of a Palestinian state and not permitting the Palestinian people to regain their full rights.

Therefore, the matter must be made clear because if the Egyptian position is still the same as it used to be, then the self-rule negotiations cannot continue on the basis and within the framework of the Israeli concept.

Nobody can claim that I am complicating matters, that I am working to foil the self-rule negotiations or that I am imposing pre-conditions before the negotiating process enters its final phase because it is natural that we will ultimately reach all this through negotiation.

I am saying what I am saying to foil the opportunity for those who want to fish in troubled waters. On the other hand, and this is more important, Israel's declaration of its clear and definite rejection of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and its rejection of negotiation with the PLO constitutes in itself pre-conditions set by Israel before the self-rule negotiations enter their decisive final phase.

In other words, silence over these pre-conditions is considered tantamount to either accepting the Israeli viewpoint or, at least, that the process of negotiation on the basis of the Israeli concept is futile and unacceptable.

#### United States Vote

On the other hand, we find that the U.S. vote on the Security Council resolution concerning the settlements and Jerusalem is a fundamental issue that has touched off spontaneously a terrible reaction from the Israeli Government and at all the Israeli levels. The Israeli cabinet postponed its weekly session to await the reaction of the U.S. president to the official protest presented to him and to await also the consequences of the mobilization of the Jewish, and other, centers of pressure in the United States against the U.S. president. One of the most significant acts of political terrorization carried out by Israel is what Linowitz, the U.S. delegate to the self-rule negotiations, and Strauss, the former delegate--both of whom are Jews--have done. It is said that they met the U.S. president and threatened him, the first with resigning from the negotiations and the second from the chairmanship of President Carter's election campaign, if he did not back down on his position regarding the Security Council resolution. They both sent cables to this effect to the president [sic]. Only a few hours had passed when the U.S. president backed down publicly and in a manner unprecedented in the history of the United States. Since the United Nations was founded,

the United States has never backed down on its vote so publicly and at such a level. Despite this humiliating retreat, the Israeli authorities have not expressed satisfaction. On the contrary, these authorities have said that this is not enough and have demanded more. This has caused all the U.S. media to make on this incident comments about which the least that can be said is that they are bitter. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in Washington has said: "This stance calls for regret and is incredible and shocking... President Carter's retreat has been met with the obvious dissatisfaction of the ambassadors of East and West Europe, of the Middle East and of Africa, Asia and Latin America...It is the last thing to be believed [sic] in the U.S. president's vacillating policy."

The paper goes on to say: "The statement that what has happened is the result of miscommunication cannot be believed. What has happened can be described as reflective of irresponsibility at a time when the Middle East is sitting atop an explosive volcano and it casts shadows on the reliability of the word of the United States."

The BALTIMORE SUN has said: "What has happened at the United Nations is crude and has left the U.S. foreign policy in shreds."

The BOSTON GLOBE has said: "The statement that the U.S. vote was the result of an error has aroused not only the Jewish communities in the United States but also the Arabs and the Israelis in the Middle East."

The WASHINGTON POST and the LOS ANGELES TIMES published similar comments, especially on the U.S. president's statement that he is against the construction of new settlements because they are illegal and that, at the same time, he is against removal of the settlements that have been built--which of course are also illegal.

The reactions in the United States have not been restricted to the information media. The chairmen of the Senate and House foreign affairs committees have announced that they decided to conduct an official investigation on the issue of the U.S. vote in support of the resolution and on the president's withdrawal of his decision in such a manner.

### Three Israeli 'No's'

Along with all this, it is noticed that when Begin became aware of this [vote], he went and presented his position to the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) and got its support. Weizman, and not even Dayan who was said one day to have resigned because of disagreement over the issue of the settlements, did not oppose Begin.

Not only this, but we also find that Begin, persisting in his intransigence and in what he claims to be an Israeli right, hastens the measures to appoint Shamir, the Israeli Parliament speaker, to the post of minister of foreign affairs which has been left vacant for 4 months. Shamir needs no

introduction. His old history is soiled with blood and his stance toward the Camp David accords is well-known. He did not approve the accords because he wants something more drastically in favor of Israel. Shamir is true to himself. Immediately upon his appointment, he also adopted Israel's new position and added a third "no" when he said: No to the Palestinian state, no return to the 1967 borders and no to the partition of Jerusalem. He has described his position as a one that reflects a unified national Israeli position.

#### Confiscation of More Arab Lands

Moreover, the Israeli Government has not left [words indistinct] security of the settlements [word indistinct] and issued 5 days ago a decision to confiscate Arab lands around Jerusalem with a total area of 450 hectares, nearly 1000 feddans, to build new settlements which will be inhabited by 10,000 or more Israelis with the aim of killing any attempts to revive the Arabism of Jerusalem.

After this explanation which has dealt with fundamental major issues and definite positions taken by Israel after establishing peace with Egypt, it is perhaps evident that the need for a pause to evaluate the Egyptian position and the method of dealing with Israel altogether has become essential.

What is important to me is to underline Israel's ceaseless deception, whether in the official negotiations or in its moves in all the spheres of information--deception that makes one stunned with the Israeli genius and skill in brainwashing.

Examples of such deception are Israel's condition on not negotiating with PLO representatives. This means that Israel wants to have the right to choose the Palestinians who will negotiate with it, if they can be found. I don't know on what legal, logical or practical basis any country can have the right to select those who will represent the viewpoint of other people whose rights have been usurped and who have been expelled from their country, with the part of these people remaining in their country still living under the military occupation of the usurping state!

I wonder on what basis Israel claims for itself this right? Is it also on the basis of the Bible? How can Israel claim that it has this right and how can it fail to acknowledge it to the people concerned? I can imagine Begin's reaction if Egypt or any Arab or foreign party said that it is not prepared to negotiate with Begin and his colleagues and that it prefers to negotiate with the Labor Party, for example, or with Goldman. If any Arab or foreign side were to ask this, I imagine that Begin will be enraged, as usual, and will reiterate that he is a legitimate and divine representative of the Israeli people and that he has come to power as a result of the choice of the people themselves after a quarter century or more during which he was completely kept out of the positions of power in Israel. So by what right does Begin, or others, claim that he is entitled to object to or not



negotiate with those whom the Palestinian people have chosen and delegated-- a choice approved by all the Arab states at the summit level?

Moreover, it is acknowledged that the PLO has been recognized internationally and at all levels as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. International and bilateral recognition of the PLO has been crystallizing in a manner that leaves no doubt in its fitness, importance and legitimacy. The latest international and political recognition and acknowledgment has been gained by the PLO in the international sphere [presumably meaning at the United Nations].

#### We and [PLO] Organization

Considering that Egypt, and at the highest level, was the party which adopted the legitimacy of the PLO's representation and demanded its recognition by the United Nations and at all international levels, it is natural that this position would be firm and unchanging.

It must be clear that when we talk about the PLO it does not mean that we are talking about certain individuals but on the basis that the organization is a political unit that represents all the Palestinian currents, both those in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and those living, temporarily, in the Arab countries.

Therefore, the PLO is a political entity in every sense of the word. The Palestinian brothers living in the Bank and the Strip have proven their solidarity with the organization and with the Palestinian people outside the occupied territories.

If we consider what has happened in Rhodesia recently, we find that the racist Ian Smith tried to falsify the people's will by forcing some individuals to cooperate with him. However, this action failed totally to end the fighting or the resistance. Even though some political experts, such as Kissinger and others, urged Washington and London to reach a special agreement with Ian Smith himself to end the Rhodesian problem, Lord Carrington, the new British secretary of state for foreign affairs, took the natural and sound initiative by holding the London conference and by negotiation basically with Mugabe and Nkomo, i.e. with the leaders of the liberation movements. After agreement had been reached among all concerned, the result of the elections held recently in Rhodesia gave Mugabe and his brothers an overwhelming majority whereas Smith and his African supporters did not get more than 15 percent of the vote. The natural outcome of the assumption of power by the true representatives of the struggling Zimbabwe people has been the establishment of peace in that sensitive area. The reason for all this is due to the fact that Mrs Thatcher's conservative government made a daring step on its own and acknowledged the true and legitimate representatives of the Zimbabwe people and the role of these representatives during the formulation of the new constitution.



The conclusion is that even if we imagine that Israel is able to impose the solution it wants and to confine it to the West Bank and Gaza residents, such a solution will not necessarily lead to stability or peace, unless it follows the right path--the path of the absence of foreign intervention in the selection of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people.

### Brainwashing Operation

Part of the brainwashing operation, at which Israel is skillful, is Israel's insistence from the beginning and until now to give the impression that the responsibility for ending the state of war is the responsibility of the Arabs and not hers whereas the fact is that Israel is the one that has always committed aggression against and invaded the Arab territories and the party which has tried to destroy the Arab right. With its occupation of the Palestinian Arab territories and of Jerusalem, Israel is establishing the state of war with military force. The responsibility for eliminating all the manifestations of the occupation and of the usurpation of rights falls altogether on the shoulders of Israel. Such elimination will automatically terminate the state of war existing between Israel on the one hand and the Arab states and the Palestinians on the other.

I have never been unaware of this trick. I underlined this point and others clearly in the statement I delivered on Tuesday, 11 February 1977, to the People's Assembly Arab Affairs Committee, Foreign Affairs Committee and National Security Committee. I said verbatim at the time:

"Israel is trying to mislead the world and to give it the impression that terminating the state of war is the responsibility of the Arab side whereas this responsibility falls altogether on Israel's shoulders. Israel is the party which has committed aggression against the Palestinian people's rights and against the Arab territories. It has thus committed an aggression which constitutes a state of war. Occupation and the subsequent thwarting of the rights of peoples is the clearest form of the acts of war. Like any military action, aggression must be countered by a reaction from the side subjected to the aggression, i.e. this side must move with all the means to end the state of aggression, to eliminate all its traces and to put an end to the onslaught against the sovereignty of the Arab states and their international rights.

"If Israel is serious in the call for terminating the state of war, then it must put an end to its aggressive presence in the Arab territories and must stop opposing the Palestinian people's exercise of their rights. But if it persists in its transgression and if it insists on continuing its aggression then it has no right to talk about terminating the state of war, especially since its methods are exposed every day and its false masks are falling one after the other."

The Israeli brainwashing operations also include what Israel has been disseminating and continues to disseminate about its need for guarantees to its

security. Regarding this fundamental point, I also warned at the same session of the danger of adopting such a lie. Addressing the People's Assembly, I said verbatim:

"You know that the issue of guarantees is the second key to the solution. Here also, Israel persists in deceiving the world and is trying to persuade it that it needs guarantees to reassure it about its survival. The truth is that the Arab world is the side in the direct need of guarantees from Israel. This is a fact proven by the continuing experiences throughout the years that have passed since the rise of Israel because by its racist character, its expansionist policy and its aggressive theories, the Israeli entity is the source that poses a constant threat to the security of the Arab states. Therefore, these countries whose security and sovereignty are exposed to danger are the ones that need the guarantees. It is ridiculous and nonsensical for the aggressor to demand any guarantee, unless it wants a guarantee for the perpetuation of its aggression. As we know, guarantees are of two kinds: Guarantees on the spot and other political guarantees that may be no less significant."

#### Political Guarantees

The talk about political guarantees leads us to the proposal I pointed out in the previous article as a just solution, namely to call for the creation of a Palestinian state--as a natural outcome of the Palestinians' exercise of their right to self-determination--provided that this state remain neutral and that its survival and the survival of Israel be guaranteed by the five major powers. This guarantee can insure security and safety for Israel and for the new Palestinian state and can lead to the recognition of both at the same time.

Insofar as Israel is concerned, with its military power and with an added international guarantee at the highest level, this [creation of Palestinian state] should pose no problem whatsoever. The proof is found in the fact that despite the conclusion of the peace treaty with Egypt, the Israeli side--and at the last moment before signing the treaty--acquired from the United States a written commitment that is tantamount to a U.S. military guarantee for Israel's security. This commitment is viewed at the same time as a serious development in the Middle East balance of powers and casts shadows on what has been done so far.

As for the Soviet Union and the fears Israel alleges in this regard, Moscow was the second country after the United States to recognize Israel. Moscow has asserted and continues to assert on every occasion that it recognizes Israel and Israel's security--a recognition which made Moscow and Washington agree on 1 October 1977 to issue a joint statement underlining this security and other points within the framework of a solution agreed upon by the two superpowers.

Therefore, Israel's alleged fears that the creation of a Palestinian state will put a communist state next door to it is something that neither reason

nor logic accepts--and perhaps not even even the political reality that is evident to the entire world. It is enough that until this very moment Israel continues to receive Russian immigrants--an immigration that constitutes the main source for the growth and increase in Israel's population.

Moreover, a guarantee of the neutrality of the new Palestinian state given by the major powers and by the neighboring Arab states requires, among other things, that the Palestinian state possess reasonable security forces, and not an offensive army. The neutrality itself will be a political neutrality with a special status so that the new and neutral Palestinian state may constitute an element of security and balance rather than one of instability and violence.

It is thus obvious that this proposal is practical and contains numerous details that can be made clear and crystallized in a manner conducive to implementation.

We conclude from the abovementioned that it is time for us to take a pause and to make a reassessment on the Palestinian issue, the Palestinian people and the method of negotiation concerning them. I again repeat that this pause will not at all affect the peace treaty on Sinai as long as the two parties to the treaty are implementing what they have committed themselves to. Therefore, we cannot imagine that a reassessment on the Palestinian aspect, which is the basis of the comprehensive peaceful solution, will affect these commitments because the two agreements are totally independent. There should be no fear at all for the Sinai agreement from a principled pause concerning the Palestinian people, their future and their rights.

What I am eager to underline and to warn against is letting Israel lure us into its labyrinths concerning the self-rule issue, allowing it to get the signature of Egypt--which shoulders special pan-Arab and Palestinian responsibilities--and to lead us to a dangerous path through pressure or through elastic phrases and under the impact of the date of 26 May for the implementation of the so-called framework of self-rule--a framework rejected altogether by the people concerned as both a comprehensive solution or a temporary solution.

What is more, even the discussion with the Israeli side within the Camp David framework concerning self-rule while the declared Israeli position--a position reiterated and reaffirmed by the Israeli Government for reason and for no reason on fundamental issues that can be subject to no bargaining--persists is something that Egypt cannot at all accept in any manner or under any circumstances. The fundamental issues involved are:

1. Israel's position toward the Palestinians' exercise of their right to self-determination and their right to sovereignty over their land which is tied to this right of self-determination.
2. Israel's declared legal and political position toward Jerusalem.

3. Israel's declared position on not returning to the 1967 borders.
4. Israel's position vis-a-vis negotiating with the PLO.

I cannot imagine how Israel can set these pre-conditions publicly and have the negotiations with it on self-rule continue, especially since these conditions are, as is evident, obstructive conditions that make it impossible to reach an agreement!

I repeat that the Israeli goal is to get Egypt's signature, in any manner, on the liquidation of the Palestinian issue. It will thus be able to realize its main goal, namely foiling any opportunity for Egypt to re-unite with its Arab family.

In conclusion, the slogan we, in Egypt, direct to Israel should be: Lift your hands from Palestine and its people, lift your hands from the Arab territories occupied with military force and lift your hands from the venerable Jerusalem.

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CSO: 4802



## DIALOGUE WITH PARTIES OF OTHER ARAB NATIONS URGED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 13

[Article by Ibrahim Yunis: "Why Don't You Open Dialogue With Arabs?"]

[Text] The Egyptian Socialist Party in the 1950's, and earlier, the Young Egypt Party in the 1930's, were the only two parties that called, in their written programs and in their activities that filled the world, for Arab unity and unity of the Nile Valley.

The headquarters of those two parties were always crowded with Arab strugglers from every country and of every inclination because those strugglers found security in those headquarters and full response from the members. They also found in the revolutionary meetings of those parties utter frankness and a reflection of the struggle of their peoples. On the pages of those parties' magazines and in their partisan literature, those strugglers found the history of their heroes written in letters of light.

Habib Bourguiba, Prince 'Abd-al-Karim al-Khattabi, 'Allal al-Fasi, the Algerian strugglers, al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the mufti of Palestine, and struggler Muhammad 'Ali al-Tahir, may God have mercy upon the souls of the departed and grant the survivors among them a long life, used the Green House--the headquarters of the Socialist Party--as their launching base, their platform and their place of meeting with the vanguards of the Egyptian people. Popular meetings, partisan colloquiums and press conferences were held for them so that they may express their opinions with utter freedom. They were also present at the premises of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Muslim Youth. What is more, not a single meeting held by the Socialist Party by day or by night lacked the presence of those strugglers, along with Isma'il al-Azhari and the other members of the Sudanese delegation in Cairo. They shared with the Egyptian people their pains and their aspirations and the Egyptian people, through their vanguards, shared with them their struggle, hopes and aspirations and opened for them their arms, thus reaffirming Egypt's role as the asylum of the free Arab men.

There was real unity among the strugglers, there was constant intellectual dialogue and there was ceaseless emotional participation. There were frequent trips by the Socialist Party leaders to the Arab countries either for the purpose of visiting or for participating in the struggle and attending political conferences.



All these positions are recorded in the party's press of the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's and in the national struggle records and are attested to by whoever lived in that fertile period. The Arabs in the east will never forget that the party sent one of its dearest sons, the martyred Dr Mustafa al-Wakil who was the party's deputy chairman, to participate in Iraq's educational renaissance and then to participate in Rashid al-Kilani's revolution as one of its heroes and then to be martyred in the Islamic Institute in Germany while trying to gather and unite the Arabs and the Muslims to demand Egypt's independence in case of Germany's victory.

The Arabs will never forget Ahmad Husayn's stances on the Palestinian issue since the 1930's. Those stances culminated with his volunteering in the salvation army formed in Syria in 1948 under the command of Fawzi al-Qawuqji and his entering Palestine under arms with the first platoons of struggle. He entered Palestine as a soldier in arms and not as a leader making speeches. This later motivated thousands of the Young Egypt Party youths to volunteer to defend Palestine and made Ibrahim Shukri open a camp in Hulwan to train the volunteers and then to send them to Palestine with their weapons. He spent on this activity from his own money primarily and then from the donations of the party members and of the citizens and from the limited assistance of the Arab League.

Palestine's soil was irrigated with the blood of martyrs of the Young Egypt Party and of the Muslim Brotherhood. The first party martyr to fall in the battlefield in 1948 was Agricultural Engineer Kamal-al-Din Hasanayn who was a graduate of Alexandria University.

The relationship of the Young Egypt Party and the Socialist Party with the Arabs was an organic relationship and not a relationship of words and ceremonies. It was a struggle relationship at the most magnificent and maturest level ever witnessed by the Arab nation in the modern history of relations between its parties.

This relationship persisted until the party was dissolved at the outset of 1953. It then turned into a personal relationship with the party leaders. Rif'at al-Shahawi then transformed this relationship through the Federation of Arab Lawyers in the 1960's into a political relationship that still survives.

The days and the years passed by and Arab unity, which had been the slogan of a group of strugglers, turned into a state slogan and state action and a path for the state's struggle--a struggle in which the Egyptians offered tens of thousands of martyrs and encouraged and supported the national liberation movements in the entire Arab world until most of its territories were liberated, thanks to the support of the Egyptian revolution and of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir personally.

Then the Socialist Labor Party was formed more than a year ago and insisted in its program on noting and underlining Arab unity and the unity of the Nile Valley. Through the words of its officials and the speeches of its

leadership, this party has insisted that it is a continuation of the Young Egypt Movement and of the Socialist Party and that the passing years have not changed the nature of its fundamental thoughts and of its Arab positions, especially vis-a-vis the Palestinian issue.

But the Arab strugglers have noticed that the Socialist Labor Party--in violation of all of its previous principles and of its glorious legacy in the field of Arab struggle and in contrast to the heroism of its leaders and the blood of its martyrs which irrigated the Arab soil--has adopted a different path and supported the Camp David treaty, thus falling into a serious conflict between its firm principles, glorious history and its origins and roots that have been established deep in the soil of Arab struggle for over 30 years on the one hand and its going along with the contemporary official reality on the other hand. The party has thus swerved from its well-known path. A struggle party remains a struggle party and a vanguard party always remains a vanguard party and advocates the great principles even if they are in conflict with the reality because its task is to change this reality with peaceful and legitimate political means and in a democratic manner and not to abandon its dearest principles and its noblest causes, especially since the chairman of this party is the struggler who led and financed the recruitment for Palestine more than 30 years ago.

Moreover, the party has not stepped forward to open a serious dialogue with the Arab brothers for whom it has struggled tens of years. What has happened? I am confident that the Arabs will welcome this dialogue, should it take place, because of the party's old reputation and glorious history in the field of Arab causes, especially the Palestinian cause and the Nile Valley unity. I have heard this from the Arab brothers repeatedly.

Why has the party refrained from this dialogue even though its secretary is the assistant secretary of the biggest and oldest political professional federation in the Arab homeland--a federation which includes all the Arab vanguards of all inclinations?

Why has the party refrained, considering that its chairman took part in the funeral of the departed President Boumediene, met with numerous Arab leaderships and could have called for and exerted efforts to coordinate the dialogue? Why has the party refrained when its chairman has historical assets and relations with the political leaders of the Arab Maghreb, such as members of the Independence Party and the other national parties? Why has the party refrained when its chairman is respected by all the Palestinian brothers who appreciate his history and stances? The truth is that I don't know why.

The Socialist Labor Party celebrated hoisting the Palestinian flag over its headquarters and called for flying a million Palestinian flags on the day Israel's flag was raised in Egypt for the first time. All strugglers and believers in Arabism who are not Labor Party members joined the celebration to take part with the chairman in raising the flag. The Socialist Labor

Party chairman is the only man capable of restoring to the political Egypt its Arab face and to open a dialogue with the Arab brothers. Our relationship with the Arabs will never end.

The people are still turning to the Arabs and the Arabs are opening their arms for the people's Egypt. If the government's Egypt disagrees with the Arabs, then it is the duty of the opposition with its glorious and bright Arab history to step forward and to light a candle, perhaps it will be able to do something in this utter darkness for the sake of Egypt, the sake of Palestine and the sake of the Arabs and perhaps it will be able to reduce the impact of the disagreement, without asking the government's permission.

Egypt has always been the leader and the vanguard of the Arabs. The Arabs have now excluded it as a result of political circumstances. Will not the Egyptian opposition step forward with utter courage and clarity to take its place and to restore with its initiative the Arab face of Egypt under these delicate conditions?

All the Arab press published on its frontpages on 27 and 28 February the picture of Ibrahim Shukri, the old Arab struggler, flying the Palestinian flag and the picture of the Lawyers Union Council members raising the Palestinian flag in a historic demonstration, along with pictures of the press conferences held by Muntaz Nassar and Muhyi-al-Din Khalid. This is one of the manifestations of our country's democracy which, we hope, will expand and not narrow.

The Arabs will not reject the hand of Ibrahim Shukri and of his colleagues if this hand extends to them to ask for a dialogue. The Arabs will welcome this hand and we may thus do for our country something that will alleviate the traces of what we are experiencing. After a long conversation on Ibrahim Shukri and his history with Lawyer Yanir 'Amr, one of the Palestinian national movement leaders, during the holding of the lawyers conference in Jordan, 'Amr asked: Will Ibrahim Shukri accept an invitation from us to give a lecture on Egypt's Arab position and the position of his party toward the Palestinian issue? I said: I am confident that Ibrahim Shukri who offered thousands of volunteers for Palestine under the banner of Ahmad Husayn in 1948 cannot refuse to hold a dialogue with the Palestinians in 1969, especially since he has become the bearer of the Palestinian banner. So try.

Yasir 'Amr said: Regardless of how strongly we disagree, we don't want to sever our relation with Egypt. We love Egypt. We even die for its love. God's curse be upon these times that have caused estrangement between us and our brothers.

I, in my turn, address the question Ibrahim Shukri, the comrade of the path, the colleague in struggle since the 1940's and the Arab struggler who, along with a select group of his brothers, raised the Palestinian flag on 26 May. I address the question to him so that we may open the dialogue with the Arabs in every Arab country for the sake of Egypt, of Palestine

and of all the Arab countries and for the sake of the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, the legacy and history of the Young Egypt [movement] and of the glories of the Socialist Party. Ahmad Husayn still lives among us to complete his research with the return of Arabism for which he has been struggling anew. May God heal him and give him health and strength. Egypt's history will mention him in its brightest pages as a great struggler for the sake of Egypt and for the sake of Arabism since he raised the flag in 1933 praising Egypt's glory and calling for Arab unity.

AL-SHA'B: The Socialist Labor Party has already issued the call on the pages of AL-SHA'B newspaper for the holding of a conference for the Arab parties to conduct a dialogue on the Arab issues and to rebuild Arab solidarity. We also invited the Arab countries that have no parties to send official delegations to this conference. We have left it for the Arab parties to draw up the agenda of this conference and set its venue. The party still abides by its position.

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CSO: 4802



## GOVERNMENT URGED TO EXPLOIT OPPOSITION TO STRENGTHEN NEGOTIATING POSITION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 16

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Ramadan: "Weapon of Popular Opposition"]

[Text] The voice of opposition recently rising in Egypt and the escalating opposition to the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel because of the intransigent and blind policy of Begin's government are among the most positive political signs in Egypt in the past 3 years.

The government will be committing a grave mistake if it gets annoyed with this opposition, if it harbors it evil or if it seeks to pounce on it with the reactionary [law of] shame which the nation has unanimously rejected and denounced. If the government does this, it will put itself on an unequal footing with Mr Begin's government around the negotiations table.

The opposition to Mr Begin's government is louder, stronger and more effective than it is in Egypt. What is more, this opposition represents a direct danger that threatens to oust Begin's government from power, and this is something that doesn't happen in Egypt. Furthermore, this opposition extends from the extreme right to the extreme left, with a difference in the goals and the objectives. Yet, Begin's government does not get annoyed with this opposition. If the government does get annoyed, there is nothing it can do about it because of the nature of the liberal system prevailing in Israel. It is definite in both cases that the government benefits from this opposition to serve the Israeli national goals to the maximum.

For example, the Israeli Government takes advantage of the opposition of the radical right--the Gush Emonim group in particular--to pressure Egypt and the United States on the issue of the settlements, of changing the social and national structure of the occupied Arab territories and of imposing the fait accompli created by the Israeli occupation day after day.

The government also benefits from the opposition of the Israeli left and center to dope Egypt and the United States and to give them doses of hope amidst the prevalent darkness of despair created by Begin's government so that there may be a persistent feeling that dealing with Israel is not like dealing with a steel wall that does not fall unless the regime or the state falls but that this wall can change with the change of government.



This is the reason for the well-known saying in the democratic countries that the opposition takes part in the government and that it serves the country's national goals as well as the government in power. This is also the reason for the eagerness of the democratic systems for the opposition and for giving it the opportunity to express itself in all the legal ways and on an equal footing with the government itself. Moreover, this is the reason behind the real national unity that characterizes the democratic systems and behind their stability and their freedom from political troubles and upheavals.

The eagerness of some countries for opposition--an eagerness meant to realize the national goals--has reached such a degree that they have resorted to fabricating this opposition in case it is not present for one reason or another.

There is the famous story in the 1940's of the president of a Third World country who used to conceal the opposition in his country so as to please the United States. He then visited the United States to ask for aid and support and was surprised to find that he was being shunned because the conditions in his country were stable and there was no danger to make the United States bolster his regime. On returning home disappointed, the first thing this president said to his prime minister was: "I want the creation of a communist party immediately."

The Egyptian al-Wafd Party, first under the leadership of Sa'd Zaghlul and then under that of Mustafa al-Nahhas, was one of the rare parties that fabricated popular opposition and then took refuge in it to fight the occupation. Even though this party had extensive popular influence and almost complete control over the masses and even though the minority parties of the times represented the more moderate side, posed no danger to al-Wafd and could not be used as a pretext to confront the occupation, al-Wafd Party used to resort to stirring its own masses against the occupation and used to make them fill the Egyptian street with noise and clamor and then employed those masses as an effective weapon with which it fought colonialism.

In the history of the Egyptian negotiations, a historian finds the word "people" being constantly used by the heads of the delegations to justify their rejection or acceptance of anything. For example, in the Sa'd Zaghlul-Malner negotiations, Zaghlul constantly referred to the people when declaring his disapproval of some proposals made by the British side.

When Mustafa al-Nahhas-Henderson negotiations took place in April 1930, Henderson wondered in their first meeting why al-Wafd refrained from presenting his proposals--which he had conveyed to Muhammad Mahmud Pasha--to the Egyptian people to express their opinion on them. Expressing his regrets, al-Nahhas said: "If the proposals were submitted to the people, they would be definitely rejected because the people expect better proposals." When al-Nahhas turned down the British provision concerning Egypt's accession to the League of Nations and insisted on the Egyptian provision included

in the Egyptian draft, the argument he cited to Henderson was: "I know the feelings of our citizens and know what satisfies them. This is why our provision is better."

When Henderson expressed annoyance with this attitude by al-Nahhas, using as a pretext his embarrassing position before the British Parliament, al-Nahhas replied: "We are aware of this. But does your excellency know the original demands of the Egyptian national spirit? Don't you see that out of our desire to reach agreement we have descended to the minimum beyond which we cannot go?"

This reliance on the people [sic] persisted throughout the negotiations that al-Wafd conducted with Britain. In March 1950, Dr Muhammad Salah-al-Din, al-Wafd's minister of foreign affairs, asked Mr Bevin "to take into consideration the state of the Egyptian public opinion and the development of its national awareness," adding that "the Egyptian public opinion has its major importance in the Middle East."

In the negotiations between al-Nahhas and Field Marshal Sir William Slim on 5 June 1950, the field marshal tried to compel al-Nahhas to use his popular influence and to impose the joint defense pact, telling him: "Your excellency, with your influence, you can submit this to the people easily." But al-Nahhas was honest and rejected the request, saying: "I am more experienced than you are with the effect of these words on the Egyptian people." Field Marshal Slim replied: "I appreciate your political difficulty."

Thus, throughout the negotiations, al-Wafd never tried to boast of its political control over the Egyptian people to convince the British of its ability to accept any agreement that does not please the people because the people are the final source of acceptance or of rejection. The British respected this constant use of the pretext of the Egyptian people.

Moreover, al-Wafd never tried to extinguish the national and opposition spirit among the masses in order to be able to conclude any agreements with the British. Rather, al-Wafd always tried to develop and encourage this spirit and to raise it to the highest levels and then boasted of it before the British--"the state of the Egyptian public opinion and the development of its national awareness."

Perhaps it behooves our government to follow this example in facing Israel and the United States so as to strengthen its negotiating ability and to bolster its capability to maneuver politically against the political opponent who is using the weapon of the opposition inside his country to exert pressure on the Egyptian Government and to constantly ask it to appreciate his difficulties.

I don't think that it honors any government in the world to claim that it has full control over the public opinion in its country, to deny the presence of any opposition currents in the country, especially when such currents escalate daily, and to claim that it is able to impose whatever it wants on

its people. Such a government loses the strongest weapon with which it can wage the battle even before it starts it, dooms its efforts to failure and becomes an easy prey to the opponents.

The opposition in Egypt is a strong weapon in the service of the national goals, if the government uses this weapon well. But if the government seeks to shackle and suppress this weapon with the law of shame or with other obsolete and reactionary laws that no longer exist in any civilized country, it will lose the strongest weapon with which to wage these ferocious battles that are causing it the greatest hardship and Egypt will always be the one to pay the price.

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CSO: 4802

## LAWYERS UNION MEETING DISRUPTED BY NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 18 Feb 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ihsan 'Abd-al-Maqsud, Thana' Jum'ah and Muna Qutub: "Lawyers Union Stormed; Group From National Party Storms Union and Chants Against Right and Left; National Party Members Used Chairs To Prevent Discussion of Law of Shame; Battle With Fists and Chairs in Lawyers Union; Phrase 'Detention Camps' Transformed into Battlefield; National Party Members Incited Battle of Vituperations, Carried Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and Walked Out Cheering Him"]

[Text] Members of the National Party have prevented Mustafa Mar'i, the lawyers doyen, from continuing to deliver his lecture on the draft law of shame at the Lawyers Union. One of the members attacked Mar'i while a lawyer attacked Fikri Makram 'Ubayd who attended the colloquium.

The lecture hall turned into a battle field in which fists, chairs and vituperation were used. Fikri Makram 'Ubayd's attempts at pacification failed.

The deputy prime minister accused Mar'i of surpassing all the limits and of abandoning objectivity when Mar'i said that the law of shame brings back the detention camps.

Mustafa Mar'i said that the maker of the correction revolution brought us out of the fire and into the shade of freedom and law but those who are cooking the law of shame harm the maker of the correction revolution and turn the supremacy of the law into a hollow and meaningless slogan. He also said that the makers of this law deceive the people.

The incidents at the Lawyers Union started when a number of the members of the National Party committees in al-Sayyidah Zaynab, (Binzayun) and Mahallat 'Adas stormed the Lawyers Union last Friday shouting against reaction, Marxism, the right and the left and insisted on attending Mustafa Mar'i's lecture on the law of shame which President al-Sadat has urged all the factions of the people to discuss. The lawyers were reluctant to hold the colloquium after it had become evident to them that some organizations of the National Party were working to prevent the discussion. Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the deputy prime minister and the National Party secretary general,

surprised the lawyers with his presence. Fikri went up to the office of the Lawyers Union chairman and accompanied Mustafa Mar'i to the hall.

The National Party members interrupted Mustafa Mar'i more than once. Fikri Makram 'Ubayd stood up to declare that we are living in the age of freedom and democracy and that this requires us to listen to the other opinion. The hall subsided and the lecture went on.

Mustafa Mar'i criticized the penalties stipulated by the draft law, saying that they bring back the detention camps. A member of the National Party attacked and insulted him. The lawyers got enraged. Lawyer Muhammad 'Ulwan attacked Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and led the cheers against him and against the National Party.

The argument turned into a fistfight. Some security men guarding the deputy prime minister tried to protect him and the hall's back door was broken to take him out through it. Mustafa Mar'i went up to the room of the Lawyers Union chairman under the protection of some lawyers while some members of the National Party carried Fikri Makram 'Ubayd out of the hall, cheering for him and for the party. Members of the National Party used chairs and their fists to stop the discussion on the law of shame at the Lawyers Union. They shouted for the downfall of Marxism, reaction, the right and the left and cheered for the life of the National Party.

Mustafa Mar'i, the lawyers doyen, tried to pacify them. Fikri Makram 'Ubayd also took part with him and declared that freedom and democracy are our slogan and that we live in the society of the free opinion. Mustafa Mar'i said that he welcomes the presence of a strong opponent who faces argument with argument, that we are seeking the truth and that the truth is the daughter of free dialogue. Mar'i also said that the maker of the law of shame is deceiving the people and that such a law means the return of the detention camps. A big clamor erupted in the hall and a member of the National Party attacked Mar'i, shouting: There are no detention camps under al-Sadat's reign and if there were any, you would be the first to be detained.

The battle erupted when Fikri Makram 'Ubayd stood up to declare that Mustafa Mar'i exceeded all the limits and abandoned objectivity.

The temperature of enthusiasm rose on Friday. Before the start of the meeting, a group from the Democratic National Party gathered in front of the Lawyers Union building and demanded to attend the colloquium. The lawyers refused to let them enter but the group insisted on storming the building by force, started to shout cheers for the fall of Marxism, the left and the right and raised the slogan of "al-Sadat, the hero of peace and the supporter of liberties."

After an hourlong struggle, they were able to enter the building. The lawyers could do nothing but open the way for them and the Union Council chairman said: We are for the people and with the people and we welcome their attendance.



## Surprise

Suddenly, Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the National Party's first secretary and the deputy prime minister, arrived at 1900 and his arrival was accompanied by cheers for the life of the Democratic National Party.

Mahir Khamis, a member of the Union's Executive Council, opened the colloquium with an address to pacify the situation and to prepare the atmosphere for a scientific lecture. Khamis said: Had President al-Sadat not given us the atmosphere of freedom, we would not have met in this session.

Mustafa Mar'i spoke on the public liberties and criticized the draft law to protect values against shame. He was not able to complete his address due to the interruption and the insults that were heaped upon him by the non-lawyers and some of the National Party members attending the meeting.

## Law Is Unholy

They interrupted him for the first time when he was talking about the sanctity of laws and when he said that it is not permissible to say that a man-made law that is subject to change is sacred and untouchable. Some of those present asked him to stop talking so that the National Party secretary may speak.

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd said: Were it not for this atmosphere of freedom and democracy, we would not hear such statements. This is the society of free opinion. We hope that proper audience will be observed.

## Strong Opponent

Mustafa Mar'i expressed his happiness for the presence of a strong opponent on the other side to do battle with him. He said: We are seeking the truth here and I welcome the presence of Hafiz and Fikri among us.

## Definition of Values

Mar'i then challenged the maker of the law, addressing his words to Hafiz Badawi who was not pleased with this interpretation (sic).

When the legislative session continued to criticize the law of shame, some non-lawyer members of the National Party got angry and protested in a violent manner, demanding by force that Mustafa Mar'i stop his address and be replaced by Fikri Makram 'Ubayd.

Fikri Makram said: Were it not for the society in which the democratic values have been established and which provides the greatest degree of freedom and democracy, we would not be hearing such statements. We must remain silent so that we may conduct our discussions in a scientific and democratic manner. Our society is the society of free opinion and of the other opinion. We hope that proper audience and the sanctity of this union will be observed.

## Truth 'Daughter of Dialogue'

Mustafa Mar'i called for keeping the door of discussion and dialogue open and said that it is a sin, a big sin, to close the door of discussion, regardless of the difference of opinions. We are in disagreement because the truth emerges and flourishes when opinions rub against each other in disagreement. Mustafa Mar'i also said: I have come for the sake of knowledge and without any desire to slander anybody here or there or to engage in oneupmanship against Zayd or 'Amr. I live in my isolation at present to search for the truth. What makes me happiest is to present the truth to you even if you trample it with your feet afterwards, if you wish. I will say the truth confidently and I know no complaisance because there is no complaisance in the truth.

## Democracy for Decoration Only

The situation intensified when the National Party members exchanged insults with the lawyers. Confronting the insults, Lawyer Muhammad 'Ulwan said: What is being done by these hirelings is chaotic and the victim is the sanctity of the dialogue and the freedom of the word that have been violated inside a sacred place.

Salah al-Sayyid, a member of the Union Council, said that what happened was tantamount to burying the freedom of expression and of the sanctity of the union. Where is democracy amidst this mob?

Mustafa Mar'i was about to withdraw from the hall had it not been for the intervention of the lawyers to pacify the situation.

## Offense to Freedom

One of the lawyers said that the National Party harmed itself by hurling insults, shouting, attacking and beating—all of which are crimes committed in the name of democracy.

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd: Mustafa Mar'i fully abandoned objectivity and swerved from the law of shame to deal with other particulars. We came to hear a scientific lecture.

## Lack of Control

Hafiz Badawi, the chairman of the People's Assembly Legislative Committee: This colloquium should have been attended by lawyers only. Those who attended and resorted to violence, force and clowning are the ones who caused the loss of control that resulted in the failure of the colloquium.

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CSO: 4802

## LEGIST'S SPEECH PROVOKES FIGHT BETWEEN LAWYERS, NATIONAL PARTY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 18 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "Mustafa Mar'i's Address Which Provoked Battle; Our Present Ruler Came With Supremacy of Law; Law of Shame Muzzles Mouths and Breaks Pens"]

[Text] Lawyer Mustafa Mar'i, the doyen of legists, declared his opinion on the law of shame in the Lawyers Union colloquium held last Friday evening. Mustafa Mar'i said that the maker of the draft law of shame has harmed the maker of the correction revolution and that the draft law wants to ascribe sanctity to the legal rules and that the constitution prohibits criticizing or discussing them. Mar'i declared that this means a return to the detention camps and that the maker of the draft law seeks to break the pens, muzzle the mouths and bar the freedom of opinion.

At the outset of the colloquium, Mar'i said: I implore God to inspire us all to have His fear in our hearts and to know how to receive the word of truth so that Egypt's word may rise above every word and so that Egypt's interest may rise above all other interests. I have come today to say the word of science in a law whose draft is being prepared and which requires that opinions be expressed on it, namely the law to protect values against shame. I mean by science here assumption (al-sann).

Mar'i said: This draft law uses for legal language phrases that law does not know, the first being the word shame. Linguistically, shame is disgrace and dishonor and the law does not codify disgrace and does not pursue shame. The law pursues criminal action, i.e. crime. If this draft law wants to make shame a punishable crime, then there is no doubt that this is new in the legal world.

#### Shame in Opinion of Draft Law Maker

Mustafa Mar'i then asked: What is the shame pursued by the draft law maker? It is evident from article one that this shame is the deviation from values because safeguarding society's fundamental values is the duty of every citizen and deviating from these values is a shame which entails responsibilities in accordance with this law.

The first thing concluded from this law is that it views the shame that entails responsibility as deviation from values. If shame is deviation from values, then what are these values? Linguistically, the value of something is its worth or its price. Price has been called value because it stands for the object concerned.

These things are no more than economic concepts used in the economic sphere. Figuratively, the concept has been transferred from matter to meaning and the word has been used for a kind of ethics called ethical values. These are the fundamental ethics: Truthfulness, honesty, continence, courage and success.

### Values Are Eternal

Mustafa Mar'i also said that values do not fade out or disappear. Thousands of years have passed on the presence of human groups on earth and truthfulness is still truthfulness, honesty is still honesty and justice is still justice, regardless of whether the man in the street likes it or not.

When the draft law maker says that protecting society's fundamental values is a duty, I say: I hear and obey. When he says that deviating from these values is a shame that entails responsibility, I say: May God bring you good, but only if you take values in their ethical meaning alone. Within the limits of this meaning, it may be said that deviating from values is shame. But when the legislator says in article two [of the draft law] that in the implementation of the provisions of this law, what is meant by values are the principles established in the constitution and in the law and intended for safeguarding the people's freedom, I say to him: Stop where you are. You, the man in the street, are trying to misname things. Values cannot be the principles established in the constitution for more than one reason, the first being the fact that values are implanted in the conscience, otherwise they would not be called values. As for the constitution and the law, I say no and a thousand no's because there are possibilities that the constitution itself may be changed. We have decided to attribute sanctity to ethical values because they come from God. This is right because we are religious people. But sanctity is not attributed to the constitution, and definitely not to laws. Raising objections against the constitution and against the laws cannot be considered shame. But the draft law maker has resorted to falsification. I say this with extreme regret for my colleague legislators who are cooking this law.

### Values and 1971 Constitution

Mustafa Mar'i added that the 1971 constitution used the word "value" in two places: In article 9 and in article 11. In the first article, the constitution states that the family is the basis of society, that its mainstays are religion, ethics and patriotism and that the state is eager to preserve the genuine character of the Egyptian family and the values and traditions it represents and to stress this character and its value in our relations inside the society of Egypt.



It is evident here that "value" has been used in the right place and within the moral and ethical value that is remote from politics.

In article 11 of the 1971 constitution, the state guarantees and society undertakes to nurture and safeguard values, to entrench the genuine Egyptian traditions and observe the high level of religious education and of the ethical values.

Therefore, the concept of value is moral and ethical and not political. There is a third proof to this fact, namely the referendum conducted on 11 April 1979 over several issues, No 5 of which pertained to the bases on which the relationship of the new society is established, including abidance. This is a proof provided by the state not more than 1 year ago.

### Major Falsification

Mustafa Mar'i further adds that the lawmaker is a legislator and that this constitutes negligence on his part, if we want to think well of him. But there is a possibility that this is intentional because he wants to bestow his sanctity on the regime altogether, not only in regard to the principles of the constitution but also in regard to whatever is stipulated by the law. This is why I have been terrified. If it is permissible to ascribe sanctity to indisputable moral values, it cannot be said that a man-made system that is subject to change is sacred and must not be touched.

Mar'i also said that the 1923 constitution, which was the first Egyptian constitution, was drawn up under a monarchic regime and the king was interested at the time in having the constitution provide for protecting the throne. Because the king was aware that the constitution was not immune, he asked the 30-man committee to draw up a provision that would freeze certain provisions in the constitution. Those men went along with the king, but for a price which they exacted from him for the nation, namely the nation's right to parliamentary life. They told the king: We will give you your right and you give the nation its right. Moreover, article (174) of the penal code existing before the revolution bars the sects that seek to change the fundamental constitutional principles of society by force.

### Law of Shame Muzzles Mouths

Mustafa Mar'i added: I say it for the sake of the truth and for (information) that whoever drafted article 2 of the draft law which tried to attribute to the political principles in the constitution and others the sanctity of moral values has misused and crushed the law and the supremacy of the law. He has misused the law because he wants to muzzle the mouths and to break the pens. Our present ruler saved us from the woes under which Egypt used to live. I truly say this all the time. He took us out of the fire to the balmy shade. I do not deny this. He is, for example, the one he brought about the correction revolution, elevated our dignity and established the supremacy of the law.



But the supremacy of the law remains a hollow slogan if we devoid the law of its meaning and if we use it as an instrument to bestow sanctity on the constitution and on the system. This means that there will be no criticism, no dialogue and no discussion and this is something that nobody condones.

#### Whip Instead of Stick

Mustafa Mar'i further said that the maker of this law has harmed the maker of the correction revolution because this revolution has survived with the supremacy of the law. When the law is used instead of the stick to shackle the mouths and the pens, we commit a sin that is worse than beating with the stick. God forbid that the law be used as a whip instead of the stick.

#### Draft Law Turns Law Into Servant

The constitution says that the supremacy of the law is the basis of rule. Law has its men and when the legal rule emanates from an intruder on the law who does not understand the inviolability of the law, such a rule is like poison in honey.

The supremacy of the law is a blessing beyond all blessings when it is understood correctly and applied correctly, thus subjecting the state to the law. The opposite applies in the draft law of shame because the supremacy of the law is based on the fact that the law is master and not servant whereas this draft law turns the law into a servant.

#### Values Court

The judiciary as wanted by the constitution is an immune and independent judiciary. Supremacy of the law is empty talk if it does not find the judiciary who rule by the law and who uphold the word of the law. The maker of this draft law, for some reason, talks about a so-called values court after deciding that the violation of values constitutes shame.

Mar'i added that a professor of law said to be working at the office of the minister of justice has made surprising statements. This professor has said that the penalty proposed by the draft law is easy and does not even reach the limit of penalty but is within the sphere of precautionary measures to protect the country against atheism. Had this professor know that AL-AHRAN newspaper which published his statements could possibly permit a reply from Mustafa Mar'i, he would not have...

#### Return of Detention Camps

Mustafa Mar'i then said that the penalties section of the law of shame provides for the denial of nomination for 3 years, denial of the right to form parties, denial of the right to engage in work [a profession], i.e. cutting off livelihood, barring departure from the country and placing a person under restricted residence. This means the return of detention camps. The detention camps are coming to you.

Suddenly, a member of the National Party (Dr Nur Badr) stood up shouting: Were there detention camps, you would be the first detainee. He then asked Mar'i: Where were you on the day of the massacre of the judiciary? And now you talk about the law of shame! 'Abdallah 'Ali Hasan, a People's Assembly member from the National Party, also screamed: You are the advocates of sedition, you contradict yourselves and you exploit this opportunity for instigation. Fikri Makrem 'Ubayd said that brother Mustafa Mar'i exceeded his limits and fully abandoned objectivity. We came here to hear a scientific lecture.

Chaos prevailed and the colloquium did not continue.

H494

C50: 4802

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY DELIBERATIONS ON BILL TO END BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 18 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "Legislative Committee Violates Constitution; Sufi Insists on Discussing Boycott of Israel at Late Hour; Labor Party Abstains From Voting"]

[Text] The People's Assembly Legislative Committee has violated the constitution and its bylaws during discussion of the republican decree concerning the bill to end the economic boycott of Israel in accordance with the peace treaty.

First violation: Only five members attended the committee's meeting and the others were absent without an excuse.

Second violation: The assembly referred the bill to a joint committee comprised of the foreign affairs, legislative and economic committees. No member of the last two committees attended the assembly meeting because the two committees were in session. Despite this, the minutes record the presence of the two committees.

Third violation: The committee's report says that the ministers of state for foreign affairs, People's Assembly affairs and economy attended the meeting whereas no minister was present. This means that the committee's report was prepared and printed before the meeting.

Hafiz Badawi, the Legislative Committee chairman, asked the committee secretariat to look for the other committee members so as to have quorum but to no avail. The committee chairman was forced to adjourn the session 10 minutes after it convened and got quick approval for this step.

Labor Party Refuses To Vote

Mumtaz Nassar, an independent deputy, recorded his abstention from voting in the session minutes because he did not originally approve the peace initiative or the Camp David accords and the subsequent steps.

Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the assembly speaker, insisted on discussing the bill at the end of the agenda so that it may be passed without discussion, especially

since the session lasted until a late hour and since the deputies were evidently exhausted after their lengthy discussions on the issue of the Egyptian journalists abroad.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the opposition leader and the Socialist Party chairman, declared the abstention of all his party members from voting for several reasons, including the fact that the committee report consisted of full 15 pages and dealt with a very important issue. Therefore, I demand postponing the vote to a future session so that the deputies may be able to study and discuss it, considering that it has been distributed to the members only a few minutes before the deliberations and that they have not been able to even read it.

#### Rejected Justification

Counselor Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir, the minister of state for People's Assembly affairs, tried to justify the situation by saying: The projected bill includes the Legislative Committee's report and covers an issue that has been preoccupying the country for long months. Therefore, it is familiar and well-known. The essence of the bill is just one article. He demanded that the bill be approved in implementation of the peace treaty on which a popular referendum was conducted.

Ibrahim Shukri asked: If the matter is so, then why has the committee prepared this lengthy report?

#### Objection

Voicing his objection, Mumtaz Nassar, an independent deputy, said that the committee report failed to record his abstention from voting and demanded that his abstention be recorded in accordance with the provisions of the bylaws.

He added: I reject the bill because I previously rejected the treaty. The other reason is that Israel has not fulfilled its commitments and has not moved one step forward. This is enough to make us stop implementation. The boycott must not be abolished.

The Labor Party chairman then took the floor again to say: If we give this right to Israel, then we should demand it for the Palestinians. The agreement with Israel is concurrent with and linked to the two letters exchanged on the Palestinian self-rule--letters present in the peace treaty. The Labor Party previously approved the treaty on the condition that progress be made along two parallel lines to realize self-rule and to observe what the Camp David accords state on refrainment from building new settlements. But we now hear that the settlement projects will be increased at a time when only 4 months remain for ending the self-rule negotiations. This in itself is considered cheating on the part of Israel and of its leaders who interpret self-rule in a special way that devoids it of every meaning. The least we can do is to refrain, and this is the weakest of faith.

Mumtaz Nassar once again asserted that the linkage between the two agreements is one to which Egypt committed itself. Here it can be said that it is right for Egypt to cling to non-implementation because Israel does not acknowledge or recognize the Palestinian rights. This is something that entitles Egypt not to implement [the peace treaty].

Muhammad Rashwan, the assembly's deputy speaker, again tried to make justifications for approving the bill. All of a sudden, the People's Assembly speaker declared that approval of the agreement [presumably meaning the bill] and immediately adjourned the session before the members could voice their objections.

8494

CSO: 4802



## EDITORIAL EXPRESSES DISSATISFACTION WITH ISRAELI NEGOTIATING POSITIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 25 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Khalil and His Butrus, Begin and His Burg"]

[Text] Khalil is Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs. Butrus is Dr Butrus Ghali, the minister of state for foreign affairs. Begin is Menachem Begin, Israel's prime minister and his Burg is Yosef Burj, Israel's minister of interior and representative in the negotiations with Egypt.

The efforts that have been exerted by Dr Mustafa Khalil and Dr Butrus since the signing of the two Camp David accords and in the numerous subsequent meetings in Egypt and Israel are considered a magnificent diplomatic action and successful efforts which indicate, if anything, the sincere intentions of the Egyptian Government to implement the Camp David accords to solve the Arab-Israeli problem comprehensively, meaning Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, ending the military rule in the occupied territories, withdrawal of the Israeli military forces to agreed upon positions and establishment of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank, Gaza and the Arab Jerusalem to be followed 5 years later by a Palestinian popular referendum on self-determination. In return for this, normal relations are to be established between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This means a comprehensive solution for the entire issue and not a separate solution between Egypt and Israel that changes nothing but will rather complicate matters and keep peace in the area threatened because Palestine, and not Egypt, is the crux of the issue.

After President al-Sadat's numerous statements that Egypt is serious and sincere in solving the Palestinian issue and after his affirmation of this fact in his recent visit to Israel, our party has had its expectations. Instead, we are surprised to find Israel's Shylock emerge in the form of Begin and make strange statements, such as the statement that the self-rule is over the people and not the land, that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, that the West Bank and Gaza are a part of Israel's land and have nothing to do with the Arab people who have been living on them for thousands of years and that this odd and abnormal situation is a permanent situation that has

nothing to do with a referendum by the Palestinian people. This means that the gap between Khalil and Begin is still wide and that the recent settlement in Hebron and the construction of other settlements in the West Bank indicates, if anything, exposed tricks and unacceptable actions that will only make matters worse. While Khalil and Butrus exert efforts, Begin and Burg maneuver and the United States, the third partner, wavers and stands idle without exerting any pressure to enhance the peace process in the area which has become more explosive in the wake of the events in Iran and Afghanistan and which may intensify even further from time to time.

Doesn't all this deserve positive action from Carter and his aides and Begin and his Burg? The time is short and the events are moving in rapid succession while the gap continues to be wide. Will the EEC countries, which are taking the position of a spectator while the matter concerns them primarily, move? This unchanging slowness is perplexing. Perhaps the United States will awaken and move actively and perhaps the West European countries will also awaken so that the gap between Khalil and his Butrus and Begin and his Burg may narrow. Tomorrow is imminent for those awaiting it.

B494

CSO: 4802

LIBERAL PARTY QUESTIONS FAILURE TO INVITE OPPOSITION PRESS TO AL-SADAT MEETING

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 23 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Opposition Press Ignored in al-Sadat's Meetings"]

[Text] The Liberal Party's General Secretariat has asked in its latest meeting Deputy Muhammad Mahmud Isma'il, the People's Assembly member, to submit a notification request to Mansur Hasan, the minister of state for presidential affairs and the official in charge of culture and information, demanding explanation of the reasons for the failure to invite the chairmen of the boards of directors, the chief editors and the leaderships of the opposition press to President Anwar al-Sadat's meeting with the national press leaderships.

The invitation was issued to the leaderships of the government papers and magazines only despite the presence of two opposition papers in Egypt.

8494

CSO: 4802

GOVERNMENT FAILURE TO HELP UPPER EGYPT FLOOD VICTIMS ATTACKED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 25 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Upper Egypt Deputies Attack Government"]

[Text] Upper Egypt's deputies in the People's Assembly have attacked the government for its failure to implement the recommendations of the special committee which visited the families victimized last November by the floods in the governorates of Savhaj, Qina and Aswan.

At the joint meeting of the social affairs, housing and agriculture committees which was held to follow up implementation of the recommendations in accordance with the assembly's resolution, the deputies said that the government has failed to fulfill what it had promised, that no blankets have been distributed in Qina and Aswan until this moment and that the compensations for buildings have not been disbursed.

8494

CSO: 4802

## CAUSES OF HIGH MEAT PRICES PROBED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 25 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Pawzi: "Meat Prices Are Rising Steadily and Butchers' Profits Declining; Village Butcher Says: Pricing Calves Is Barred Because Breeders Are Big Shots"]

[Text] Meat prices in the countryside have almost doubled in 2 years. The price of a kg of boned veal was 120 piasters in 1978 and rose to 220 piasters at the end of 1979.

Fathi al-Sayyid Muhammad Ghunaym, a butcher in the Ashmun district center, said that the prices of calves have doubled and that his profits have declined despite the rise in meat prices because he buys slaughtering calves at a much higher price than in the past. He presently buys calves on the block, i.e. live for 115 piasters per kg. Answering a question on why calf prices are rising so largely, Ghunaym said that this is due to several reasons, including:

1. The improper distribution of fodders to calf breeders, considering that many breeders get the fodder for imaginary livestock and imaginary figures and then sell it in the black market which brings them bigger profits faster.
2. The rise in fodder prices because most fodders are sold in the black market. The market prices have risen as follows:

In 1977, the price of fodder was 40 pounds per ton in the free market.

In 1978, the price rose to 75 pounds.

In 1979, the price jumped to 120 pounds.

Chaff is available and millet is sold at fourfold its price in the black market.

3. The rise in clover prices, considering that the price of a qirat [area of land] of al-Misqawi clover--a single cutting--is 5 pounds and that the price of a qirat of al-Fahl clover--a single cutting--is 12 pounds. The



rent paid for cultivating a qirat of clover once is 7 pounds, i.e. 168 pounds per feddan for 6 months only.

Fathi Ghunaym says that veal is at its best when taken from 1-month old calves because the meat of a calf younger than 1 month is full of water. The quality of meat taken from a calf older than 1 month is lower.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hu'ti, another butcher, wishes that cooperative butcheries would be established in the villages in which the price of a kilogram of meat is 140 piasters. When I asked him about the effect of such butcheries on him as a butcher, he said that this would stop calf breeders from being so rigid in selling their calves and will enable him to purchase calves at a lower price, sell at a lower price, sell more and make bigger profits.

On meat pricing, the failure to price meats is due to the fact that most calf breeders are "big shots" who make big profits and want no pricing.

#### Meat Prices in Cairo

As for the rising meat prices in Cairo, al-Hajj 'Abdallah Shihab, a butcher on al-Quds [Jerusalem] Street in al-'Ajuzah, says that he purchases slaughtered calf meat at 180 to 185 piasters per kilogram but in 1978, i.e. 1 year later, the price became 130 to 140 piasters per kilogram, i.e. with an increase of 40 percent in the price of the meat he purchases over just 1 year [sentence and figures as published]. Despite the increase in meat prices, the situation is as follows:

1. The butcher's profit is 30 percent less than in the past because sales are lower whereas the expenses are the same.
2. Meat sales are 30 percent lower than in the past. But customers who purchase veal continue to purchase veal and those who purchase calf meat continue to purchase calf meat.
3. The sale of mutton is 60 percent lower than in the past because of the presence of cooperatives which sell imported mutton at low prices. Their quality is much lower than that of local mutton.

Al-Hajj Shihab says that a butcher is eager to sell at the lowest price to win customers and make profits and that when the cooperatives were selling meat for 52.5 piasters per kilogram in 1964, he was selling it for 50 piasters.

#### Causes of Meat Price Rises

Al-Hajj Shihab says that the reason for the rise in meat prices in Cairo is that the Upper Egypt governorates ban the transportation of livestock to Cairo. This ban has affected meat prices heavily. The Upper Egypt governorates are livestock-breeding governorates and they consume less than they breed and this keeps the level of prices reasonable. Cairo, which has a population of 8 millions, does not breed livestock and relies on what it imports from the governorates. A ban by any governorate on the transportation of meats or of livestock to Cairo affects the level of meat prices in Cairo.

That's why al-Hajj Shihab sells the high-quality meat cuts, such as the fillet and beefsteaks, at 260 piasters per kilogram. Yet, his profit is 30 percent less now than when meats were inexpensive.

## CENTRAL ACCOUNTING AGENCY SAYS IMPLEMENTATION OF LOAN AGREEMENTS IS SLOW

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 25 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: "Central Accounting Agency Exposes Misuse of Foreign Loans to Egypt; U.S. Loan Waits 2 Full Years for Credit To Be Opened"]

[Text] A report prepared by the Central Accounting Agency on following up the implementation of loans and grants concluded with the United States to develop and renovate the plants and various sections of al-Mahallah al-Kubra Textile Company has revealed the following observations:

The slow utilization of the loan due to delay on the part of the company in making a decision on the bids offered by U.S. suppliers because of the high prices they quote for machinery and equipment. This loan was subjected to a propaganda campaign by the U.S. textile industry on the grounds that it will enable Egyptian textiles to compete with similar U.S. textiles. This campaign almost led to suspending the loan if it had not been for the intervention of the U.S. administration.

The report adds: The first documented credit for importing the project's equipment and machinery was opened 2 years after conclusion of the loan agreement.

The report also points out that the loan amounts to \$96 million. According to the timetable for implementing the project, it was estimated that building and installation work costing 22.5 million pounds would be finished by the end of 1978 whereas what was implemented by September 1978 amounted to no more than 3.4 million pounds only.

H494

CSO: 4802

**MINISTRY OF JUSTICE DEMANDS REPAYMENT OF SUM SEIZED BY MINISTRY OF FINANCE**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 25 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "Minister of Justice Accuses Minister of Finance of Seizing 5.5 Million Pounds"]

[Text] Counselor Anwar Abu-Sihli, the minister of justice, has launched a violent attack against the Ministry of Finance for seizing 5.5 million pounds constituting the revenues of the fund set aside to build courthouses. The Ministry of Finance has promised repeatedly to repay this sum.

The minister said at the meeting of the People's Assembly Plan and Budget Committee to reconsider a bill to levy an additional fee for courthouses: I have asked the minister of finance that his ministry pay what it owes and so far, this ministry has repaid one half million pounds only.

In an endeavor to absorb the anger of the members who had declared their rejection of this bill at a previous meeting, the minister of justice claimed that the fees levied by this law constitute no additional burden to litigants and that it must be approved so that the ministry may be able to build courthouses in Savhaj, Asyut and al-Jizah where the cornerstones was laid down sometime ago but no funds have been found for implementation.

Counselor Abu-Sihli admitted the ministry's failure to exercise control over its workers. He also said: The new bill will constitute no burden if compared with the "tips" that the litigants pay a doorman--tips amounting to 30 piasters or 1 pound--and to clerks--tips amounting to 2-3 pounds.

The minister asked: What harm would it do a litigant who has sold a piece of land for 50,000 or 60,000 pounds to pay 5 or 6 pounds?

The minister noted that the revenue of the proposed fees does not exceed 2.5 million pounds at a time when it is needed to build 225 partial complexes, of which only 65 have been completed, and 30 complete complexes, of which only seven have been completed.

Continuing the same allegations, Counselor Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir, the minister of state who attended the meeting, said: We are experiencing difficult financial circumstances. The least that can be done is to approve this bill and not to withhold "mils" in order to help the state restore prestige to the judiciary.

National Party members 'Atiyah al-Payyuni and 'Abd-al-Bari Sulayman suddenly changed their position on this bill after they had declared their rejection of the bill in part and parcel at the previous meeting. They changed their position on the instructions of the government and declared that their previous objection was due to the failure to point out the proposed increased rates in the presented bill. They also demanded that the Ministry of Finance reimburse the Ministry of Justice for the sum seized.

Once more attacking the bill, 'Abd-al-Bari Sulayman [sic] said: The increase is not as small as the minister of justice says it is. It is nearly sixfold that and the state is supposed to shoulder this burden.

8494

CSO: 4802

## GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICY VIEWED AS INADEQUATE TO COMBAT INFLATION

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Rising Prices and Policy of Stability"]

[Text] One of the components of the Socialist Liberal Party's program is that of dynamic economy, i.e. the annual movement of wages and prices in all spheres as calculated rates. This is compatible with the open-door economic policy or the policy of the door open to the outside world which President al-Sadat declared on the inception of the correction revolution in May 1971.

It is a given political and economic fact that the open-door policy cannot be compatible with the one-party or one political organization system which we followed before the correction revolution and in the following few years until the Arab and foreign capital investment law was issued in 1974 so that Egypt may benefit from the surplus Arab monies and from the savings of Egyptians abroad and at home and so that the Egyptian economy may benefit from the advanced technology of the major industrial countries and from the modern management systems that are the backbone of the success of any economic project.

In the same year, i.e. 1974, President al-Sadat put forward the paper to develop the Socialist Union so as to permit the rise of political platforms inside it. Such platforms emerged in 1975, political parties were declared in 1976 and constitutional legitimacy, rather than revolutionary legitimacy, was established in implementation of the principles of the political liberties and of the supremacy of the law which the May revolution had declared. In 1977, the investment law was amended strongly to permit further economic openness and the movement of capital internally and externally so as to enhance investment and raise production.

We conclude from all this that economic openness, or the open-door policy, can survive and succeed only under the shadow of a democratic policy, of the freedom of expressions and of the supremacy of the law. This is what is called political stability.



The international wave of inflation and of rising prices emerged sharply in 1974, i.e. the year following the October 1973 war shook the world economy violently, caused oil prices to rise in an unprecedented manner and raised the surpluses of the Arab oil exporting countries until those surpluses reached astronomical figures. These surpluses have continued to rise, amounting to nearly \$200 billion in 1980.

Egypt was among the first of those to suffer from international inflation. This hardship emerged first in the rise of the prices of Egypt's imports that have led to a higher deficit in the Egyptian balance of payments and a higher deficit in the state budget also. This is an effective factor in the rise of prices.

But economic stability is accompanied by political stability in this phase [sic]. To curtail the rates of price rises that we are all experiencing, the matter requires:

A new and complete economic policy: I don't think that the program of Dr Mustafa Khalil's government contains such a policy, even though it has, to be fair, contained some financial and economic reform means. However, this program has failed to formulate a new political structure with which to confront international inflation, as well as local inflation.

It is our opinion that a dynamic, i.e. active, economic policy must be formulated to apply (presumably meaning develop) a new economic structure so as to establish some kind of a balance between wages and prices and to create a new economic policy to run parallel to the political stability in the phase of peace and of the normalization of relations. This is not impossible but it requires new minds and a visualization that we have not found to be clear in the program of Dr Mustafa Khalil's government. It is clearly and indubitably apparent to us that this government is incapable of realizing this goal with the method it follows.

Here is where the opposition's role emerges in talking about a complete economic program and a new structure that curtails the rise in prices so that stability may be achieved.

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CSO: 4802

EGYPT

**CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION SHUNS DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Construction Union Refuses To Deal With Israel"]

[Text] The Executive Council of the General Union of Construction and Lumber Workers has decided to support the resolution of the General Federation of Workers to ban cooperation, dealings and cultural and unionist exchange with the Histadrut and the Israeli labor unions.

This has been stated by Muhammad Fahmi Badr, the union's deputy chairman.

8494

CSO: 4802

**RUSSIAN EXPERTS STILL WORKING IN ASWAN IRON, STEEL COMPLEX**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "One Hundred Russian Experts in Iron and Steel Complex"]

[Text] 'Ali Mar'i, the chairman of the Iron and Steel Workers Union in Aswan, has told a hearing session of the People's Assembly that a 100 Russian experts are still working in the Iron and Steel Company despite the president's decision to expel them.

He said: The company president is contributing toward the destruction, not the enhancement, of the national economy. Mar'i demanded to meet with the minister of industry immediately to acquaint him with what is happening.

Engineer Fu'ad Abu-Zaghlah, the company chairman, remained silent at the meeting and made no comment on these accusations.

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CSO: 4802

# JOURNALISTS SYMPOSIUM DEMANDS REAL FREEDOM OF PRESS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 3

[Article: "Freedom of Press in Heated Symposium; Jalal al-Hamamsi: Resistance Through Symposiums Is Futile, Freedom Is Taken and not Granted; Kamil Zuhayri: Onslaught Against Press Becoming More Ferocious and Abominable; Mahmud al-Maraghi: Liberation of Press Connected With Abolition of Number of Laws"]

[Text] A vast crowd of journalists and press pioneers met last Monday evening in a heated symposium held at the Journalists Union. The symposium's topic of discussion was the "freedom of the press in Egypt." The symposium lasted more than 3 hours.

While conveying a major part of the dialogue on this page, we can say that the opinions expressed at this symposium represent bright landmarks on the hard path--the path of the indivisible freedom for the great Egyptian people.

At the outset of his address to the symposium, Jalal al-Hamamsi defined the freedom of the press saying: It is the right of the public to know everything within the bounds of the ordinary law and it is the right of the journalists to say what they want. He asserted that there is no problem requiring new definitions and legislations. One time they try to call the press the fourth estate and another time they try to stifle it with the law of shame.

Jalal-al-Din al-Hamamsi urged the journalists to take positive stances, instead of futile symposiums and lectures, vis-a-vis what is intended for the freedom of the press.

He said: We can talk for months and for years but when certain stances are taken and made known to the ruling party, they compel it to stop thinking of legislations that curtail the liberties. Such stances will make the people who are complaining of the weakness of the Egyptian press and journalists feel the presence of a strong press entity that defends the freedom of the press with measures, sacrifices and action.

## Is There Freedom of Press in Egypt?

Journalist Jalal al-Hamamsi believes that there is no freedom of the press in Egypt. He has said: It is constantly said that the Egyptian press is living under freedom not known for years. We all know that this is not true and that the phrase "freedom of the press" is reiterated constantly whereas neither the people nor the journalists are aware of such freedom. The question voiced repeatedly is: Where is the press and where are the journalists?

Therefore, we must act and must take a step to entrench the freedom of the press in the Egyptian society.

Al-Hamamsi further said: The press cannot be an authority. The freedom of the press is taken with action. Therefore, I urge our union to conduct a study that is followed by action. Continuation of the verbal attempts is futile and it is time to take practical steps in order to attain a right that is taken and not given. Freedom is taken and not granted.

Al-Hamamsi raised a subject of discussion embodied in the question: How can the Journalists Union begin to draw up a plan by which all journalists abide in order to entrench the freedom of the press in Egypt in a manner that makes it impossible for any individual to undermine it? Only then can we say that we are free.

## National Party Remote From Masses

Al-Hamamsi said: We constantly read about the National Party and its bond with the masses. But I see no trace of this bond by virtue of the fact that the party's structure and the journalistic action [sic] is artificial. If there were action established on a firm base of freedom, the National Party would be able to carry out its work and exercise its freedom through this base of freedom. Through the legitimate conflict between this party and the other parties, this National Party would have also been able to create a life that enhances a bond and solidarity with the popular bases. But all this can be achieved only through the freedom of the press.

## Golden Triangle of Freedom of Press

Kamil al-Zuhayri, the journalists doyen, reviewed the history of the Egyptian press, beginning with the first National Party when Mikha'il 'Abd-al-Sayyid and Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi were defending the freedom of the press while another faction was opposing it.

Then Amin al-Rafi'i emerged and wrote pioneer words in 1909 when the British colonialism imposed the publication law.

Then a third team, comprised of 'Ali Pasha Mahir, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Mikabbati and 'Abd-al-'Aziz Fahmi, emerged to demand the freedom of publishing books.



Kamil Zuhayri further said: Whenever Egypt is at a crossroad, the issue of the freedom of the press is raised and whenever the national movement erupts or the national feelings boil over, harassment and obstruction of the press and the imposition of shackles on it starts.

The journalists doyen said: The golden triangle of the freedom of the press consists of the ownership of the papers which affects this freedom, the right of the press workers to form their union and the right of the citizen to information and to get enough reports and ideas to help him participate in, answer or support the government or formulate its policy.

Zuhayri added: If press ownership is individual or if it represents the opinion of one party, then its danger is not different from that of individual ownership [sic]. The people who produce, i.e. the editors, journalists and writers, must have a union that alone is entitled to bring them to account. What is more important is that the criterion of the progress of any nation is the degree of its citizens' consumption [sic] of newspapers and magazines.

The journalists doyen urged the need to reconsider the procedural measures imposed on the freedom of opinion, expression and of the press, the most significant being the publication law which is being drafted to regulate the publication and circulation of papers. He asserted that the current law and the proposed law are worse than one another and that the Egyptian press is still governed by the 1936 publication law. The proposed law is a step backward and constitutes a retreat from the 1936 law because of the numerous obstructions and shackles that it has innovated.

#### Attacks Against Press

The Journalists Union chairman further added: An attack has been launched in the visualization that the press is an authority. However, there has been another and more ferocious attack that disavows our press history and traditions and the pioneers that have been defending the press for 100 years. This attack is called the winter campaign, or the so-called draft law to protect values against shame. I think that the time has come for democracy to be sound and legitimate. Zuhayri wondered: To whom shall we appeal? To what extent can we go in our writing and what shall we write about, if we are allowed to write?

#### Liberation of Publication of Papers

Journalists doyen demanded that the penal code from 1883 and until the present be repealed so that the journalists may know that journalism is the only profession for which there are 20 provisions governing its work. He said: If we don't free papers from the shackles imposed on their publication, the union will suffocate with its workers and, consequently, control of the press will intensify.

## Cure

Mahmud al-Maraghi, the Journalists Union deputy chairman, said: It is indisputable that the desired freedom of reporting and of publishing papers is not present by evidence of the fact that those who have inherited the National Union and the Socialist Union own everything, with the exclusion of only two papers. It is known that censorship has been abolished. This is true. But this alone is not enough because a number of laws affecting the press must be abolished or amended. It is unreasonable for a law to hold people, for the first time ever, accountable for characteristics and not for actions by innovating new kinds of trials and of judiciary and by inventing new types of charges which the legislator is trying to make criminal. There is radicalism, for example. What is the meaning of radicalism and by what yardstick is it measured? This word and many others are elastic. What is more, the innovation of bringing journalists before the socialist prosecutor has been introduced in Egypt for the first time.

The union's deputy chairman wondered: How do we move from this current situation to a different situation in regard to transferring the state's current ownership of the press to different owners? If this happens, then it will be possible for the freedom of expression to be born. However, there are obstacles obstructing such a transfer, the most important being a political obstacle.

The first thing to be done is to eliminate the restriction imposed on the political parties and to release the freedom of companies and organizations to publish papers without restrictions.

## Press Codification Committee

Discussing the Press Codification Committee, Mahmud al-Maraghi said: The model on whose basis it was formed has been an improvement on an existing model and not a change of a situation from which we all suffer. A joint-stock company can be formed within the framework of this model. He said that the journalist, like all other professionals, has a professional side and is entitled to remain in his profession, regardless of whether he agrees or disagrees [with the regime]. If, under any circumstances, (he commits a violation outside the framework of his profession, then he is subject to the general law).

Al-Maraghi believes that the negative aspect of the press at present is found in the continuation of the present situation where the ownership of press establishments is on the basis of 51 percent for the Socialist Union or whoever inherits it and 49 percent for others, which means that control by the state is still present.

## We Gained Independence and Lost Freedom

Speaking on the freedom of the press in Egypt, Hazim Hashim said: Egypt enjoyed real and true freedom at a time during which the forces of the

fiercest empire in the world were bearing down on it. But as soon as we gained our political and economic independence, we came to believe that the freedom of the press is taboo. When matters don't go beyond words, they should not cause concern to anybody. We are in a battle and we want for the people what they want but (not what is wanted for us). It is no coincidence that what is happening on the Egyptian arena is happening in the absence of the freedom of the press.

Hazim Hashim added: When the journalists think of liberating the press, they are surprised with more suppressive measures by the officials.

Hashim demanded that ownership of the national press be taken away from the hands of the government and that the majority party be content with its own paper.

He said: We do not take our freedom to write [lightly] and we don't think that the game has become extremely ridiculous. Therefore, we must embark on a frank and responsible battle. It is the right of every citizen to address the authorities in the manner he likes and it is not the right of the government to bind us with further shackles day after day under the pretext of laws with strange names.

#### Restriction, not Codification, Committee

Ibrahim Yunis said: The Press Codification Committee is a committee to restrict the press. It is unreasonable that this committee is formed without the presence of the towering figures and the first pioneers of the press who established the Egyptian press schools.

Ibrahim Yunis further said: A prolonged dialogue has been going on. This is not the first time in which we talk about the freedom of the press and of the journalists. This is why I imagined that the elected members of the Union Council would refuse to participate in the Press Codification Committee. The journalists' problems cannot be solved unless the solutions emanate from the environs of the Journalists Union itself.

The solutions are present and require no genius or efforts. All they require is more loyalty and desire to take positions.

Samir Tadrus, an editor in AL-AKHBAR, said: The press relationship is similar to a triangle between the union, the press establishments and the journalists. Freedom is taken and not given. How can this happen when the establishments cannot fight for the freedom of the journalist, as is the case? The man in charge of one of the press establishments is an advertisement man and not a journalist. How can the journalists accept to be governed by an advertisement man?

He said: I expected the Union Council to hold an emergency meeting to answer the minister of interior and to denounce what the minister had said about the journalists under the dome of the parliament.

Tadros wondered: Who protects the union? Nothing other than its bond with the journalistic base will protect it and nobody other than the union will solve the problems of the journalists.

Salah Qabadaya, from AL-AKHBAR, said: The issues raised by the colleagues are very important unionist issues but they can make us swerve from the topic of the symposium, which is the freedom of the press.

Let us return to the points brought up regarding the issue of ownership. It seems that we are being subjected to a process of intellectual taming to whose tunes they make us dance.

Ownership is a fundamental issue. Who owns the national papers at present? The truth is that the ownership of the existing papers has been transferred to one person whereas it was in the hands of various individuals in the past. The late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir owned all the papers and Socialist Union inherited this ownership from the National Union.

Salah Qabadaya asked: Who owns the existing papers? What is the visualization of Mr Jalal al-Hamansi, considering that he has voiced today the slogan that we must act? What is the action he visualizes?

Salah Qabadaya proposed that the Union Council form a committee to draw up its own visualization regarding ownership of the press establishments in Egypt and demanded that the Journalists Union present this visualization on press ownership to the journalist conference that it will hold.

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CSO: 4802



## GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES TO RESOLVE COMPLAINTS CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Abolition of Socialist Prosecutor, Complaints Bureau and Administrative Prosecution; Control Agencies Failed To Solve Problems of Masses; 600,000 Complaints Submitted to Presidential Office and Council of Ministers to no Avail"]

[Text] The hearing sessions held by the People's Assembly Proposals and Complaints Committee witnessed tumultuous discussions while deliberating on the method to settle the complaints submitted by the citizens to the various state agencies. Those attending submitted many proposals demanding abolition of the socialist prosecution, the administrative prosecution and the Complaints Bureau, the unification of the complaint and control agencies in a single agency and merging the administrative prosecution and the public prosecution in one department so that the red tape may be reduced.

The sessions were attended by Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Socialist Liberal Party chairman; Muhammad 'Abd-al-Shafi, the party's deputy chairman; Counselor Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir, the minister of state for People's Assembly affairs; Muhammad Rashwan, the assembly's deputy speaker, representatives of the Socialist Labor Party, the governors, the heads of the control agencies, the heads of the complaint bureaus in the ministries and the authorities, the head of the Complaints Bureau, the head of the Administrative Control Department, the head of the Central Organization and Administration Agency, the head of the Central Mobilization and Statistics Agency and the heads of local popular councils.

Those present attacked the government policy and the intensifying negligence in many units, especially in the public sector, which leads to the many complaints. This is in addition to the multiplicity of the supervision and control agencies which further complicate the course of work and production.

## Six Hundred Thousand Complaints

Muhammad Rashwan, the People's Assembly deputy speaker who inaugurated the sessions, said that more than 600,000 complaints are received annually by



the Council of Ministers and a similar number by the Presidential Office and by the various ministries. This is a very serious indication because the plaintiffs have lost confidence [sic] in settling the complaints by their immediate superiors.

#### Legislation Is Necessary

Sabri al-Qadi, the committee chairman, said that appealing is a right guaranteed by the constitution for every citizen. But there have to be steps to issue a legislation through which the citizen learns how to address the public authorities.

He noted that the Egyptian complaint agencies have no constitutional or legal support and no bylaws or organizational or legislative controls governing them.

#### They Are not at Required Level

The first to speak was Amin Mutakayyis, the governor of al-Sharqiyah, who said: The complaint agencies in the governorates are not at the required level and must be re-evaluated. He said that more than 200 complaints are referred to him daily to be signed whereas there are special authorities to which the complaints should be referred and that this is why he doesn't sign the complaints.

#### Governors Must Open Their Doors

Hamzah al-Sunbati, chairman of the Damiatta Popular Council, demanded that the governors open their doors one day a week to receive the masses and hear their complaints so that serious action may be taken.

Hasan Kamil, the chief of the Presidential Office, said that the Complaints Bureau is similar to the one established in the Council of Ministers in 1953 which receives hundreds of thousands of complaints daily [sic]. These complaints follow a rigid red-tape course and often fail to find a solution.

The office chief demanded that the complaint agencies be linked with each other and that a committee be formed to evaluate all the workers in the complaint and control agencies.

#### Administrative Backwardness

Engineer Fu'ad Abu-Zaghlah, the chairman of the Iron and Steel Board of Directors [sic], asserted that the large number of complaints is due to the administrative backwardness of the state agencies and that the local authorities must be given the powers to settle complaints without pushing them upward.

Citing an example of the complaints and of what is done about them, Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, said:

The promotion of a civil servant to the rank of director general means that the minister should notify the Administrative Control Authority to start the process which takes 6 months after which it decides whether the civil servant is fit to be promoted or not. Naturally, this obstructs the work. Moreover, the civil servant may resort to a relative in the Administrative Control to employ the influence of his connections.

Murad said: Why shouldn't there be a single agency that is in charge of making the decision after the candidate fills one form with the required data.

He noted that decision-making powers should be disseminated throughout the lowest levels [of the government] because this is the way to eliminate the obstacles.

'Ali Ibrahim Salim, the director of complaints in Ismailia, proposed as a solution to the problem that red tape be eliminated as an inlet to reform and to simplifying and abridging the procedures.

Jalal Nada, the Labor Party representative, said that bribery has become widespread among the civil servants and that the civil servant controls the fate of the plaintiff who has lost hope to attain his right. Nada demanded that the higher authorities stop relying on the superficial replies [etc] from minor civil servants and that the civil servant be held accountable if he fails to examine a complaint so that the work may become serious.

#### Judiciary Authority

Muhammad Wafa' Jalal, the governor of Bani Suwayf, proposed the formation of a judiciary council in every governorate to look into and make a decision on the complaints so as to realize justice and equality.

Husayn Wishahi, the chairman of the People's Assembly Working Forces Committee, demanded that the administrative prosecution and the public prosecution be merged in one agency to prevent duality and conflict of powers and to abridge the procedures.

At the end, agreement was reached to form a technical committee to study all the opinions and proposals discussed so as to present them to the general committee in its next session. This committee will then prepare a report containing its recommendations to be presented to the current session of the People's Assembly.

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CSO: 4802

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY REJECTS BILL TO RAISE LITIGATION FEES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "For First Time, People's Assembly Turns Down New Law To Increase Citizens' Burdens"]

[Text] The People's Assembly has unanimously turned down for the second time a bill presented by the government to levy an additional fee in the interest of courthouses--a fee that would make the citizen's burdens sixfold what they are at present.

The endeavors of Counselor Anwar Abu-Sihli, the minister of justice, to persuade the members of the importance of the new fees to maintain the houses of justice failed.

Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the assembly speaker, was compelled to get a quick approval to return the bill to the Legislative Committee to study it.

Deputy 'Abdallah 'Ali Hasan said that the bill is a serious and erroneous piece of legislation that puts new burdens on the shoulders of the citizens. He asked: If this is the case, then why shouldn't we permit the minister of education to establish a fund to build schools and the minister of transport a fund to bolster the railroad and the telephone service?

Ibrahim Shukri, the opposition leader, said: I cannot imagine the services turning toward self-financing. This is a serious principle which the government is adopting. He declared his refusal to levy more fees to achieve justice.

He asserted that the assembly's approval of the bill would mean helping the Ministry of Finance to deviate and to seize the monies of the Ministry of Justice, which the former did when it seized 5 million pounds belonging to the latter.

Rafiz Badaw, the Legislative Committee chairman, expressed his surprise at the fact that the Plan and Budget Committee discussed the bill exclusively and without the participation of his committee. He declared his rejection of the bill until it is studied by his committee.

Dr Sufi Abu-Talib declared that the bill will be referred to the Legislative Committee to avoid the many hands raised to declare their rejection of the government method of increasing the burdens shouldered by the masses.

Dr 'Ali Lutfi, the minister of finance, fled the session, as he had fled the session of the Plan and Budget Committee which had discussed and turned down the bill. Not a single representative of the Ministry of Finance attended the session for fear of the members' anger.

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CSO: 4802

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE MAINTAINS EXEMPTIONS GIVEN TO EGYPTIAN DIPLOMATS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Mar 80 p 3

[Article: "People's Assembly Rejects Law To Abolish Customs Exemptions for Diplomats"]

[Text] A joint committee formed of the People's Assembly plan, economic and foreign relations committees has rejected a bill submitted by the government to abolish the tax exemptions granted to the Egyptian diplomats.

The committee members asserted that this government approach which tries to deny rights gained by the citizens is rejected.

After desperate attempts, the members agreed that the exemptions given to the diplomats amount to a maximum of 25 percent of their annual salaries every time the diplomat returns to Egypt, regardless of how many times he returns to the country.

The bill awaits another round of rejection when it will be discussed in the coming sessions of the People's Assembly.

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CSO: 4802



**ELECTION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS DEMANDED**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 17 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Fawzi: "Why Are Elections of Agricultural Cooperative Executive Councils Obstructed; Does Discussion of Any Law Stop its Implementation; Farmers Raise Their Voices to First Farmer, Their Leader al-Sadat, To Intervene"]

[Text] The elections of the agricultural cooperative executive councils have been delayed with one bill after another. The argument is to suspend the elections until the new agricultural cooperation law is issued, as if the new cooperation law will introduce such fundamental changes in the executive councils that make it undesirable to hold any elections now.

**Obstruction of Current Law**

More than 7 years have passed during which no agricultural cooperative elections have been held. The executive council members have continued to hold their positions and the farmer members of the cooperative have been denied the opportunity to use their democratic rights to reelect the executive councils of their societies in the light of the negative or positive aspects displayed to them by the current council members throughout this period.

Complaints have been voiced by the majority of the farmers demanding that new elections be held for the executive councils in accordance with the provisions of the current agricultural cooperation law No 51 of 1969. But these complaints have gone unheard and unheeded. Implementation of the law has been delayed time after time without any reason or justification. Thinking of changing an existing law should not at all obstruct the continued implementation of this law until the new law is drafted, approved and promulgated.

**Change in Proposed Law**

If we examine the proposed new agricultural cooperation law presented by the Ministry of Agricultural to the People's Assembly Agricultural and Irrigation

Committee, we would find no change insofar as the executive councils of the agricultural cooperatives are concerned. The only change pertaining to the executive councils is contained in article 53 of the proposed law which states:

Article 53: The membership of more than one executive council of the various levels and types of the structure units may not be combined. This article indicates that the bill makers have not drawn up the bill accurately because how can this article be implemented when the highest-level general assembly is comprised of the members of the executive councils of the cooperatives forming it?

Moreover, article 37 of the proposed law states in paragraph C that in the joint, central and general cooperatives and in the general agricultural cooperatives [sic], the general assembly shall be comprised of the members of the executive councils of the cooperatives forming it. In view of the fact that election of the executive council of any cooperative association of any level must be from among the members of the general assembly, this means that the member of the executive council of a general assembly must also be a member of the executive council of the central cooperative forming the general assembly, a member of the executive council of the joint cooperative forming the central cooperative and a member of the executive council of the local cooperative forming the joint cooperative.

#### Bill Brings Nothing New

In view of the fact that the new cooperation bill presented by the Ministry of Agriculture to the People's Assembly brings nothing new concerning the executive councils, their membership and their conditions, then what is the reason for the obstruction of election of the executive councils of the agricultural cooperatives under the pretext of waiting for the promulgation of the new agricultural cooperation law when this law contains nothing new? Why aren't the executive boards elected in accordance with the current law? When the new law is promulgated, its fourth article can stipulate that the agricultural cooperative executive councils existing when this law goes into effect shall continue to carry out their duties until new councils are formed in accordance with the provisions of the new law.

#### Farmers Raise Their Voices to Number One Egyptian Farmer

The farmers in the various Egyptian agricultural cooperatives raise their voices to the number one Egyptian farmer, their beloved leader, commander and teacher [al-Sadat], to issue his instructions for implementation of the current agricultural cooperation law immediately and for holding the elections of the agricultural cooperative executive councils in accordance with the provisions of this law. Most of the current councils are appointed and not elected. When the new agricultural cooperation law is issued, then it can be implemented as issued.

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CSO: 4802

## SHUBRA AL-KHAYMAH CONSTRUCTION SCANDALS, OTHER PROBLEMS PROBED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 17 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Azim Salim and Anwar 'Abd-al-Ghani: "Deviations in Shubra al-Khaymah; Housing Apartments for Climbing Class That Owns Villas and Buildings; Who Is Responsible for Dilapidated and Collapsing School Buildings; City of Ghosts Hosts Wardah To Sing With It: 'I Want a Miracle'" ]

[Text] President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat will meet today with the Democratic National Party leaderships in al-Qalyubiyah in continuation of the meetings that he has been holding to solve the masses' problems. AL-AHRAR will try to review on this occasion the problems of an important industrial area considered one of the bastions of industry in Egypt in order to put them before the head of the Egyptian family so that he may become personally acquainted with the naked truth without any courtesies.

This miserable city that wanted to become "Egypt's Yorkshire" has suddenly found itself a ghost city and is looking for its place among Egypt's cities.

The direct cause of the condition which Shubra al-Khaymah has reached is the city officials themselves, their followers and the policy of "negligence and laxity." For example, the (Bijam Town) road which links Shubra al-Khaymah with the outside world was closed 2 years ago and has not yet found a solution for its problem from the officials!

The road is still filled with stagnant and odorous lakes that have turned into breeding spots for insects and worms.

#### Housing Scandals

There is also the housing scandal in Shubra al-Khaymah—a scandal whose stink has filled the nostrils of all the area's citizens and which the officials are still trying to conceal by tailoring new decisions to fit the "new farce." Our sweet children [presumably meaning officials and their supporters] still insist on their right to get the business places and the shops in spite of the National Party leaderships in the area.

The children understand the law and say the contract is the law of the contracting parties.

What is worse, they "censure the council chairman for his new apartment" which he has seized illegally!

The new development is that the schools in Shubra al-Khaymah are beginning to collapse. When we questioned the officials and the technicians concerned, they said: It is the result of the lack of vitamins [sic] and of iron which was stolen and replaced by an "iron mixture." There is also the issue of the girls preparatory school which collapsed and claimed the lives of many innocent children as its victims. Who is responsible for their blood? We don't know.

#### Game of Musical Chairs

In Shubra al-Khaymah, the hopes of the citizens who dream of an apartment in the apartment buildings that rise in the area every day are dashed and collapse with the collapse of the buildings.

Engineer al-Mandarah al-Sayyid al-Mandarah, the director of the Shubra al-Khaymah Engineering Department, says:

I notified the contracting companies which constructed these buildings to remove the cracking buildings and they have answered that they will benefit from these installations, surround them with iron and turn them into a museum of "modern architectures" so that the citizens may become familiar with the latest accomplishments of the contractors "in the art of stealing construction materials."

Ahmad Ramzi al-Jayyar, the chairman of Shubra al-Khaymah Local Council, adds: There is a gap between the high ranking and minor (officials). The high officials do not intervene immediately to take steps to implement the decisions and recommendations with which the drawers are overflowing.

#### No Speaking, No Displeasure

It is the common impression that only "thieves" escape being subjected to questioning. But this is the condition of many of Shubra al-Khaymah's officials. Engineer Riyad al-Shuni, the city council chairman, has often evaded facing the truth. Even the efforts to expose the truth have become shameful to the officials of the miserable area and what is happening behind the scenes in Shubra al-Khaymah is known to God alone.

What has become known and is circulated among the public in the area is that the executive agencies award their projects to major contracting companies which in turn award them to fat cats which subdivide the projects among small contracting cats until the buildings ultimately crack.



AL-AHRAR detected last week a truck loaded with reinforcement iron rods leaving the recently built Bijam school and we learned that the truck, accompanied by the executive engineer concerned, was heading for a well-known iron dealer in the area. To put it very simply, the equation is one of "you carry me and I will carry you."

#### Black Market Apartments

The apartments distributed in Shubra al-Khaymah have already entered the black market where an apartment is sold openly for 5000 pounds, keeping in mind that those who get the apartments are officials who already own buildings and villas. But "commerce is the art of cleverness."

What is surprising is that most of those who have gotten these apartments are well-known names in the areas, naturally.

The real picture of Shubra al-Khaymah, without any makeup, is before Maj Gen Nabawi Isma'il, the minister of interior, through the public opinion reports presented to him by the state security agencies.

#### Wardah Alleviates Pain

Because of the area's miserable situation, Wardah al-Jaza'iriyah [a well-known singer] will hold a concert to alleviate the pains of Shubra al-Khaymah which is drowning in its problems and its sewer waters. But the area's inhabitants are moaning because the concert has turned from a blessing to a curse for Shubra al-Khaymah's residents. Purchase of the concert tickets is compulsory, as if the concert has turned into a winter aid campaign or a campaign in the interest of war efforts! All the agencies have been employed to sell the tickets. Driving licenses cannot be acquired unless the applicant pays 10 pounds as the price of a ticket. We wish that the concert revenues were in the interest of the Services Fund that has gone bankrupt, in the interest of paving a street or in the interest of raising the area's standard. But how could this happen in the city of ghosts?

What is more surprising is that printing the city council's revenue receipt books has stopped and that the collection of the fees levied on businesses and other establishments has been suspended in the interest of printing the tickets for the said concert.

Overnight, as Wardah says, Shubra al-Khaymah has turned mysteriously into a beehive serving artists and entertainers. But Shubra needs a miracle.

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CSO: 4802



# PROPOSED BILL TO LEVY EDUCATIONAL FEES TO BOLSTER TEACHERS FUND

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 17 Mar 80 p 5

[Article by Jamal 'Abd-al-Sami': "People's Assembly Does Not Acknowledge Free Education; New Bill To Increase Citizens' Burdens"]

[Text] The People's Assembly Working Forces Committee, in participation with the Educational Committee's office, has committed a significant constitutional violation by approving a proposal for a bill which provides for levying additional fees on the parents of students in the three educational stages in the interest of the Teachers Union Retirement Fund even though the constitution stipulates that education is free and should be made available to all.

The story of the presentation of this bill which adds more burdens to the citizens' backs lies in the fact that the Teachers Union resorted to deputy Fatimah 'Anan, the matron of teachers, when it failed to get new revenues from the government to deal with the thousands of teachers who are unable to earn a living at present, especially the teachers of private schools who do not enjoy the privileges of the social security laws.

A number of deputies refused to approve the proposed additional fees and demanded that efforts be made to look for other resources to bolster the fund's revenues. Other deputies said that the rising costs of living and the conditions of the teachers who have raised leaderships for the country and who, despite this, cannot find their daily bread must be taken into consideration.

The Central Organization and Administration Agency representative has said: The new fee is imposed on the students who are not members of the union whereas the union is supposed to develop its revenues from the members' subscriptions. He added: What is happening constitutes a precedent.

Deputy 'Umar 'Atiyah said: The bill seeks not to saddle the government with new burdens. The proposed fees do not constitute a burden to the citizen.

Fatimah 'Anan, the matron of teachers and the bill proponent, said: There is a very large number of retired teachers who do not get a government pension and who survive on special pensions amounting to just 6.5 pounds monthly.

She added: Teachers are begging at present and the union has submitted this bill to preserve the dignity of the teacher. She asserted that she often gives the teachers from her private money to alleviate their sad situation.

Rajab al-Sa'di opposed the levying of new fees that represent new burdens to student parents, especially since all are suffering from the rising costs of living. He said: This confirms that we are burying our heads in the sand like ostriches. Education is free and yet private lessons are given by teachers at the broadest scale. He declared that he will raise his objections when the bill is presented to the assembly.

Rajab al-Sa'di also demanded that his objection to the excise fees approved by the bill (for) the teachers be also recorded. He asserted that this is in conflict with the principle of alleviating the masses' hardships--a principle which we all advocate.

#### Text of Bill

The members urged the need to raise the subscriptions of loaned teachers in return for the high salaries they earn.

The bill calls for collecting 100 mils for every applicant wishing to enroll in elementary education and 200 mils on receiving the certificate of graduation from this stage, 200 mils for every applicant wishing to enroll in preparatory education and 500 mils on receiving the certificate of graduation from this stage and 1 pound for every applicant wishing to enroll in secondary education and the equivalent, 1 pound for every applicant for the general secondary school examination and 1 pound on receiving the general secondary certificate or its equivalent.

The bill also calls for collecting these fees from the students of government, private and government-assisted schools for class expenses and services.

The bill stipulates the collection of 150 mils for each application submitted by the teachers to the Union's Executive Council, to the Ministry of Education or to its branches in the governorates.

The bill further stipulates that a loaned teacher pay the union an annual subscription of 48 pounds for every year he is loaned or concludes a contract to work abroad. This includes the regular annual subscription which amounts according to the provisions of the bill to 6 pounds for every one of the first 5 years of work, 9 pounds annually for every one of the following 5 years and 12 pounds after the first 10 or more years of work.

8494

CSO: 4802

# POWER OUTAGES SAID TO BE CAUSING HEAVY ECONOMIC LOSSES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 17 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Public Sector Company Loses 2 Million Pounds Annually Because of Power Outages"]

[Text] The People's Assembly members have launched a violent attack on the Ministry of Electricity and its agencies which cause with their faulty policy repeated power outages in factories, residences and hospitals.

The deputies have said that the personal conflicts between the workers in the power distribution companies and the Public Electricity Authority have caused the regrettable current situation.

During the discussion on this issue, Deputy Jalal Sayyid demanded that Dr Mustafa Kamal Sabri, the minister of electricity, be frank with himself and not conceal the facts from the masses. The power outages causes grave losses, especially in factories and production sites. The situation has become so chronic that it can no longer be overlooked.

## Damage to House Appliances

'Abd-al-Halim Shahin pointed out that power outages cause damages to house appliances and that this has become the source of general complaint by the citizens.

Shahin added: The minister knows perfectly well that the differences and conflicts between the workers in the electricity distribution companies and the Public Electricity Authority, especially the differences between the workers from Alexandria and the workers from the other governorates, cause the weakness and lack of responsibility.

Deputy 'Abd-al-Ham'id Isma'il said in support of Shahin: The administrative problems affecting the progress of work must be solved and it is necessary to establish coordination between the distribution companies and the various areas.

Taking the floor, Deputy Ahmad Qasim spoke about the millions of pounds of annual losses to which the production capacity is exposed. Citing an example, he said that the Alexandria Transportation and Engineering Company loses 2 million pounds, not to mention the losses incurred by the Egyptian Dyes Company in Kafr al-Dawwar where 300 textile units were stopped simultaneously. The deputy asked the minister of electricity to spell out the figures on the public sector's annual losses so that all may know the dimensions of the catastrophe expected from the frequent power outages.

The deputy also demanded that the decree by Engineer Sidqi Bulayman, a former prime minister, banning the plants from installing their private generator be abolished at this time in which we are experiencing a stifling crisis.

Deputy Sami Abazah asserted that the electricity companies have neglected the maintenance and improvement of the networks and that their goal has become that of easy profit at the expense of responsibility. He demanded that the minister correct the situation and that the violation of laws for the sake of easy profits be stopped.

Deputy 'Ali al-Zuqum referred to the tragedy in which the current killed a number of citizens as a result of the fall of (cables). He demanded that responsible technicians be appointed in the villages, noting that not a single technician is found in any village. This causes the citizens to tamper with the transformers in an attempt to repair them when there are power outages.

The minister of electricity was content with a short statement in which he declared that he will look immediately into these conditions to correct whatever has gone awry.

8494

C50: 4802

## LIBERAL PARTY GENERAL SECRETARIAT RE-FORMED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 17 Mar 80 p 5

[Article by Hilmi Salim: "State of Emergency Declared in General Secretariat After its Re-formation; Defining Party's Position Toward Arab Working Paper; Demand for Decisive Position if Self-Rule Negotiations Fail"]

[Text] The Liberal Party General Secretariat has held a lengthy 4-hour meeting under the chairmanship of Maj Gen Salah-al-Din al-Rifa'i, the party's deputy chairman.

The meeting discussed the process of the normalization of relations with Israel through the party's viewpoint on the need to link the negotiations for full Palestinian self-rule with the normalization and the need for Egypt to take a decisive position if the negotiations fail.

Major General al-Rifa'i dealt in his address with the message which President Anwar al-Sadat has sent to President Carter to point out the threats that could be posed by the Soviet Union to the Middle East area--threats similar to what has happened in Afghanistan--because of the Soviet presence in Libya, Ethiopia and Aden and to also point out events taking place in Syria and opening the way for Soviet military intervention. The party's deputy chairman asserted that President al-Sadat's letter will move the Middle East issue forward to take its natural place among the international event that affect the world public opinion.

The meeting also dealt with the international struggle for oil, especially since the oil produced is less than what is actually needed, not to mention that oil resources in the Soviet Union have begun to decline considerably and that international conflict and confrontation will erupt if the oil problem is not solved, especially since the signs confirm this outlook. Oil reserves in America [presumably meaning the United States] are enough for 12 days only [sic].

The meeting also discussed the Sudanese vice president's visit to Ethiopia and the current [war of] attrition in Morocco.



## State of Emergency

Regarding the working paper on which President al-Sadat intends to hold a general referendum, the party's deputy chairman demanded that the party's General Secretariat be in a state of emergency and in constant session to express its view on the working paper concerning the Arab reality.

Ilfat Kamil, a People's Assembly member, urged the need to form a clear opinion by the party so that it may be presented to the People's Assembly as soon as the working paper is issued.

It has also been decided to assign Hasan Mahrus, the party's assistant secretary general, to prepare a memorandum on law No 83 to be presented to Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil.

The General Secretariat then followed up the resolutions of the joint meeting between the Political Bureau and the party chairmen in the governorates and referred to the Council of Committee Chairmen the issues that need to be studied so that the council may express its opinion on them and to present them to the party's General Secretariat to discuss them in its next meeting.

Maj Gen Salah al-Rifa'i, the party's deputy chairman, also presented a resolution approved by Mustafa Kamil Murad, the party chairman, on 9 March 1980 to re-form the party's General Secretariat. The General Secretariat has approved the new formation.

### Formation of Liberal Party's General Secretariat:

Mustafa Kamil Murad, the party chairman.

Salah-al-Din Mahmud al-Rifa'i, the party deputy chairman.

Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd-al-Shafi, the party representative [wakil] and the official in charge of the party chairmanship in al-Buhayrah.

Riyad (Mu'rid) Athanasyus, the party representative [wakil].

Ilfat Kamil 'Aziz, the party representative.

Ahmad Hasan al-Faqi, the party representative and counselor and the chairman of the Foreign and Arab Policy Committee.

'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shurbaji, the party's honorary representative and its chairman in al-Sharqiyah Governorate.

Sa'd al-Ghannam, the party's honorary representative and chairman of the Local Government Committee.

Al-Hamzah Muhammad Hamzah Da'bas, the party's legal adviser, the party chairman in al-Jizah Governorate and the chairman of the Legislative Committee.

Muhammad Murad al-Siba'ati, the party secretary and the official in charge of the Youth Committee.

Haseen Muhammad Mahrus, the assistant secretary general and the official temporarily in charge of the treasury.

Nafisah Muhammad Tawfiq al-Ghanrawi, member of the General Secretariat.

'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sabaki, the General Secretariat member and the official in charge of the chairmanship of the Council of Specialized Committee Chairmen.

Muhammad Mahmud Isma'il, the General Secretariat member.

Hilmi Ahmad Salim, the General Secretariat member and the official in charge of the secretariat of the Council of Specialized Committee Chairmen and of the Social Affairs and Security Committee.

'Uthman Nadwan 'Uthman and 'Abd-al-Majid Mustafa Shatir, the two representatives of the Council of Specialized Committee Chairmen, and Shafiq Muhammad Jad, the chairman of the Membership Affairs Committee, will be invited to attend the General Secretariat meetings.

B494

C50: 4802

## UPPER EGYPT DEPUTIES WANT SUGARCANE PRICES RAISED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Trying Minister of Irrigation for Decline of Sugarcane Crop"]

[Text] The People's Assembly deputies from the governorates of Aswan, Qina and al-Minya in Upper Egypt have threatened the assembly's Agriculture Committee to stage an open-ended sit-in strike at the headquarters of the assembly's Economic Committee until the government declares its approval to raise the price of a ton of sugarcane from 10 to 15 pounds.

The endeavors of Fathallah Rif'at, the chairman of the Economic Committee who headed the joint meeting of the Economic and Agriculture Committees, failed to persuade the deputies to change their drastic position. In the face of their absolute rejection of alternate proposal, Fathallah tried, unsuccessfully, to contact Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, and Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the deputy prime minister, but did not find them at home.

The deputies of Upper Egypt have demanded that Engineer 'Abd-al-Hadi Samahah, the minister of irrigation, and the Ministry of Irrigation officials be brought to trial. The deputies revealed that the Ministerial Production Committee, whom Vice President Husni Mubarak instructed 2 weeks ago to meet to discuss the proposed sugarcane price, has not adhered to the decision and has not met yet.

The deputies of the three governorates have asserted that the farmers will refrain from cultivating sugarcane, regardless of what such action costs them and of how severely it will expose them to the jurisdiction of the law.

5494

CSO: 4802

**BILL TO DISSOLVE LAWYERS UNION COUNCIL BLOCKED**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Bill To Dissolve Lawyers Union Council"]

[Text] AL-AHRAR has learned that Mukhtar Hani, a People's Assembly member from the National Party, and a number of other deputies have drawn up a bill calling for dissolving the Lawyers Union Executive Council and for holding new elections.

The bill's explanatory note says that the reason lies in the union's violation of the professional unions law by holding colloquiums to discuss the issue of democracy, liberties and the law of shame in Egypt.

One of the most prominent party leaders has intervened to prevent the members from submitting their bill until a later date and to wait and see what the future developments will produce.

#494

CSO: 4802

EGYPT

**WORKERS FEDERATION WANTS SOCIALIST PROSECUTOR OUT OF ELECTION PROCESS**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Federation of Workers Demands Elimination of Socialist Prosecutor's Intervention"]

[Text] An authoritative source of the General Federation of Workers has asserted that the federation will exert efforts to abolish the provision in law No 83 of 1978 on protecting the domestic front and social peace. This provision gives the socialist prosecutor the right to object to the nomination of candidates to the membership of the executive councils of the labor unions. The source added: The provision is in conflict with the principle of unionist freedom approved by international agreement No 87 of 1948.

8494

CSO: 4802



OPPOSITION NATIONAL FRONT SAID TO HAVE HELD SECRET MEETINGS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 1

[Article: "Secret Meetings by National Front"]

[Text] AL-AHRAR has learned that several secret meetings were held recently and included the leaderships and deputies of a number of opposition parties and of independent deputies of the National Front which was formed recently and which includes communist, Wafdist and Muslim Brotherhood elements and a number of former prime ministers and ministers.

AL-AHRAR has also learned that the leaderships of the opposition parties and the People's Assembly members enrolled in this front have decided to withdraw from political life and to resign from the People's Assembly if the law of shame and the values court are approved.

8494

CSO: 4802

## GOVERNMENT SAID DISCOURAGING INCREASED COTTON CULTIVATION

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Fawzi: "Cotton Seed Is Sold in Black Market in al-Minufiyah; Farmers Barred From Enlarging Areas Cultivated With Cotton"]

[Text] Hundreds of farmers from al-Minufiyah Governorate have been flooding AL-AHRAR with cables and letters protesting their being prevented from cultivating cotton in areas beyond the collectives [al-tajmi'at]. Farmers who agree to cultivate a new collective are denied cotton seeds and the fertilizers required for the crop by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Loan Bank.

In the village of Hayt in al-Bajur District, al-Minufiyah Governorate, farmer Ahmad 'Abd-al-Majid Budayr said that the success of last year's cotton crop has encouraged the farmers to cultivate the crop this year. Last season, the average cotton production per feddan amounted to 8.5 qintars and the price of a qintar amounted to 48 pounds. Budayr said that when he and a number of neighboring farmers tried to cultivate a cotton collective and asked to be supplied with cotton seed, the Ministry of Agriculture and the village bank refused to supply them with the seed or with the fertilizers designated for them.

## Cotton Seed for Fourfold Its Cost

Sabir Qurraytah and Ahmad 'Abd-al-Jawad say that they were compelled to buy one mikhallah (12 kaylahs) [both are measurements] of cotton seed for 12 pounds whereas the official price is 360 piasters per mikhallah, i.e. at nearly fourfold the official price.

## Fertilizers in Black Market

Sayyid 'Abdallah and Muhammad Fathi Wasil say that fertilizers in the black market have reached twice their [official] price. The Super [presumably brand name] fertilizer which is sold [officially] for 150 piasters per (shikarah) has reached 4.5 pounds in the black market. Nitrate fertilizers which are officially priced at 325 piasters per shikarah are sold for 6 pounds per shikarah in the black market.

Some of the farmers who have started new cotton collectives beside the [officially permitted] one and who have not been supplied by the bank or by the Ministry of Agriculture with the required seed include Ahmad 'Abd-al-Jawad, Sabir Qurayyah, Qadri Qandil, 'Abd-al-Mun'im Qandil, Hamid al-Jundi, Ibrahim Tu'mah and numerous others. They wonder: Does the law ban the cultivation of cotton outside the collectives? The law has banned the cultivation of any crop other than cotton within the cotton collectives. But in view of the state's need for cotton, of the improvement in cotton prices internally and externally and of the desire of the farmers to cultivate it, is there anything to prevent cultivating this crop outside the collective?

#### Appeal to Minister of Agriculture

The farmers in all the villages of al-Minufiyah Governorate appeal to Dr Mahmud Dawud, the minister of agriculture who has restored cotton cultivation to its place and has enabled it to regain its reputation among the farmers, to declare his policy regarding the cultivation of cotton outside the designated collectives. Does the state want more areas cultivated with cotton? Is cotton cultivation outside the collectives banned because it is damaging? Nothing of the sort has been declared in the governorate and the officials have failed to visit the villages to answer the farmers' questions and to give them guidance, thus leaving them confused.

#### Complications of Seed Planting

There is another complaint by al-Minufiyah farmers, namely that village banks do not supply the cotton seed unless the area to be cultivated is 40 qirats or more. If a farmer wants to plant the seed early in accordance with the instructions and goes to the cooperative and the bank to get the cotton seed, the bank refuses to supply him with the amount designated for him unless he joins with his colleagues to form an area of 40 qirats at least. After doing this, the farmer still has to wait and his land has to wait. He may lose his right to the cultivation water while waiting because of this intransigence.

The cotton seed prices in the market have encouraged some farmers whose lands are within cotton collectives to sell part of the seeds supplied by the bank in the black market and to cultivate the land with a smaller amount while waiting for the transplantation, thus gaining in both cases.

The farmers are waiting for the minister of agriculture to announce the ministry's policy regarding the areas of land that the farmers wish to cultivate outside the limits of the collectives and they are fully prepared to implement the instructions of the minister of agriculture for the interest of the country and their interest.

8494

C50: 4802

# GOVERNMENT POLICIES BLAMED FOR RISING MEAT PRICES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 3

[Article: "People's Assembly Fails To Deal With Rising Meat Prices; Violent Discussions That Reveal: Imaginary Statements by Officials, One Plaster for Veterinary Care, Unavailability of Fodder, Negligence by Ministry of Industry, Faulty Agricultural Policy and Hot-Tempered Minister of Agriculture; Assembly Speaker Interrupts Opposition Deputies So That Government May Not Be Embarrassed and Refers Problem to Committees for Study"]

[Text] The more than 4-hour long People's Assembly discussions on the meats problem have proven that the new policy of the Assembly for burying any problem is to refer it to the committees for study.

The discussions ended as they started and the government has not committed itself to any solutions. Moreover, the Assembly has reached no resolution and the problem has been referred to the Agricultural and Economy Committees for study.

During the discussion on the problem, Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the Assembly speaker, repeatedly interrupted the opposition members to prevent the government from being embarrassed. Dr Abu-Talib also refused to allow more than 20 members to address the Assembly on the grounds that the discussions were exhaustive, even though the fact is that meat prices are rising daily.

Ilfat Kamil, the deputy from the Liberal Party, spoke about the party's opinion on the problem, saying: It seems from following livestock prices that are rising daily that the Ministry of Agriculture has not been able to implement a livestock development and preservation policy, thus causing prices to rise fearfully. The price of a kilogram of meat has reached 3 pounds and this has affected the consumer who alone suffers the consequences of rapid rise in the prices of other commodities.

Ilfat Kamil added: This is due fundamentally to the presence of an unstable policy that has not achieved tangible results.

The deputy asserted that the problem will not be solved unless the government adopts decisive measures to deal with this problem in a fundamental manner.

Ilfat Kamil added: The livestock production problem has not been subjected to sufficient study and research. No study has been conducted on the Egyptian livestock with the aim of improving it and increasing its production. This has resulted in the decline of the production of both meats and dairy products.

The Liberal Party deputy demanded that fodder be produced locally, with only the unavailable elements imported. We only have one quarter the fodder needed in the summer. Therefore, there has to be expansion in the farms and in pasture lands.

Ilfat Kamil asserted that agricultural mechanization is the means to preserve the livestock resources and to save the livestock and animal resources. She demanded that the slaughtering of female animals and small calves be banned until they reach a certain weight and that one agency be appointed to supervise the livestock resources.

#### Hot-Tempered Minister of Agriculture

Ahmad Yunis, an independent deputy, demanded that the government shoulder its full responsibility for the rabid rise in meat prices. He said: The rise in meat prices started in 1967 and not today. The price of a kilogram of unslaughtered meat was 36 piasters at the time and a kilogram of slaughtered meat was sold at 75 piasters. But the minister of agriculture at the time was a hot-tempered man. During discussions in the Agriculture Committee, the minister rejected at the time the demands of breeders that the price of a kilogram of unslaughtered meat be raised to 65 piasters, saying that he didn't want meats because he relied at the time on the so-called Meat Company which provided fodder to meat suppliers only.

Yunis added: The price has now reached 3 pounds per kilogram. What is more, a butcher in al-Zamalik sells the kilogram for 8 pounds. Yunis said that he will convey the name of this butcher to the minister of supply immediately.

The independent deputy has pointed out that some of the reasons that have created the problem are:

The state's negligence of the conditions of the meat investments, the exorbitant interest rates collected by the Loan Bank for loans advanced to the breeders and the inadequate veterinary care, considering that one piaster is allocated annually for the veterinary care of a head of livestock.

Ahmad Yunis pointed out that the Ministry of Industry has failed to fulfill the promise of 5 years ago to produce 1.25 million tons of fodder annually.

Meanwhile, Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the assembly speaker, tried to interrupt the independent deputy but the other deputies objected to his approach. However, the speaker insisted on his position and refused to let the deputy complete



his address so as not to expose the fact that the government's negligence and laxity have contributed to the deterioration of the problem.

#### Confused Statements

Taking the floor, Deputy 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Bahrawi said: The crisis has been caused by the confused statements made by the succession of ministers of supply who have come since 1972 and none of whose statements has been implemented so far. The consequences that we encounter at present ridicule the false official statements. Giving an example, the deputy cited the unchanging annual livestock increase from 1971 and until the present, saying that this increase has not exceeded 66,000 heads of cattle.

Al-Bahrawi noted that the government is behind the sharp crisis, even though it attributes whatever displeasure is voiced by the citizens to communist inclinations and to deviation. But we are the ones who encourage this, [said the deputy].

#### There Is No Actual Count

Ahmad Farghali, a deputy from the Labor Party, said that the problem lies in a number of reasons, led by the fact that there is no actual count of livestock in Egypt and by the negligence of the agency in charge in the distribution of fodder. This has led to figures on the presence of imaginary livestock, thus causing the rise in fodder prices in the black market. Forty percent of the cattle and buffaloes cannot reproduce and are left untreated. A large percentage of nearly 40 percent of newborn calves perish for lack of veterinary care. There is also tuberculosis which has spread among 200 [sic] heads of cattle imported from abroad. The deputy presented a number of proposals, including ones to unify the agencies in charge of supervision, to abolish the livestock insurance fund and to streamline the official statements on food security.

What is surprising is that the comments by Nasif Tahun, the minister of supply, and Dr Mahmud Dawud, the minister of agriculture, consisted of their reiterating their already announced program of visits. The discussions ended with referring the unsolved issue to the Agriculture and Economy Committees in observation of the assembly's new traditions concerning the problems that are to be buried.

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CSO: 4802

## UPPER EGYPT DEPUTIES ENRAGED AT GOVERNMENT SUGARCANE POLICY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Ministers Fail To Respect Assembly and Engage in Hobby of Avoiding Its Sessions; Sufi, Fikri and Lutfi Evade Meeting With Upper Egyptians"]

[Text] The ministers of finance, industry, agriculture and irrigation have evaded a joint meeting held by the People's Assembly Agriculture and Economy Committees to discuss sugarcane prices.

The ministers were content with sending representatives who could make no decisions even though an urgent personal invitation was addressed to them more than a week ago.

The deputies of Upper Egypt have launched a violent attack on the government for its failure to respect the People's Assembly and for disregarding the resolutions and recommendations issued by the assembly nearly 4 months ago.

The members said that they have been compelled to flee their districts because the farmers pursue them everywhere. They declared unanimously a sit-in at the assembly until a resolution is issued to raise the prices.

The deputies of Qina, Aswan and al-Minya led heated discussions during which they denounced the government's behavior and its disavowal of the hollow statements it makes.

#### Abortive Policy

Deputy Yusuf Siddiq said: The Ministry of Irrigation is the one with the primary responsibility for the issue. Because of its abortive policy, the production per feddan has dropped from 38.9 tons to 31 tons. The total loss in the sugarcane crop last year amounted to 226,000 tons valued at 51 million pounds.

The deputy added: The ministry ignores the fact that the feddan needs to be irrigated 20 times and allows it to be irrigated 11 times only. There has also been a drop in the quantity of fertilizers, considering that only two sacks of fertilizers are supplied for each feddan at present.

Yusuf Siddiq further added: The cost [not further specified] has risen to 342 pounds this year. Moreover, the lease per feddan has risen to more than 60 pounds and the government has raised land taxes from 40 to 50 pounds, beginning with 1980. He asserted that 16 sugar plants are threatened with stoppage of operations due to the decline in the crop. He demanded that the price of a ton be raised to 15 pounds.

#### Matter Discussed Thoroughly

'Abd-al-Rahim al-Ghul said: The matter has been discussed thoroughly and the ministers concerned should have respected the People's Assembly and should have attended so that a firm decision could be taken.

Al-Ghul added that he directs the finger of accusation at the Ministry of Irrigation and that the new covered drainage canals that have cost us thousands of pounds are totally blocked and no longer operative.

Al-Ghul demanded that the entire Ministry of Irrigation, especially the engineers who were in charge of the construction of the drains, be brought to account. He said that the minister of irrigation fled the meeting and the entire meeting hall during the discussions on the issue. The deputy asked: In whose interest is Egypt paying \$700 for an imported ton of sugar instead of saving these sums in the interest of the farmer so as to enable him to meet the local market needs? Does the state policy mean making the United States and Cuba richer while letting the [local] farms get poorer and poorer?

The deputy declared he will stage a sit-in at the assembly until the government shoulders its responsibility and declares a new price immediately.

Sa'd Bashir, from the Labor Party, said that the government has caused the decline of the sugarcane crop and that the Ministry of Agriculture has confirmed this.

He warned the government of the consequences of its persistence in this chaotic line and demanded that the price per ton be raised to 20 pounds so as to counter the increase in production costs.

#### Minister Is Powerless

Muhammad 'Abduh, the first undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance, announced that the minister of finance has no power to issue a decision to raise prices until after approval by Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil.

'Abduh added: The Ministry of Finance has no power to issue such a decision.

The members rejected the statements in which the first undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance declared that the Ministry is against subsidies and aid and said that their demands are gained rights and not aid. They demanded that the undersecretary withdraw this phrase immediately.

Taking the floor again, 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Ghul said: The prime minister's interest in domestic problem should under no circumstances be less than his interest in foreign issues. Each official must shoulder his responsibility and must appear before the People's Assembly immediately.

Fathallah Rif'at, the committee chairman, lost control and adjourned the session for a few minutes to contact Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and Dr 'Ali Latfi, the minister of finance. He made his contacts amidst an atmosphere charged with emotions and shouting. Rif'at then cited the excuse that Dr Sufi was not at home and that had been invited to a dinner party and that Fikri Makram 'Ubayd was not home either.

While trying to contact the minister of finance, Muhammad 'Abduh, the first undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance, announced suddenly that the minister was not home and that he was visiting a relative.

This led to a sharp encounter between the undersecretary on the one hand and 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Ghul and Yusuf Siddiq on the other hand during which the deputies accused the undersecretary of deception and lying and accused the minister of evading the session. The two deputies turned down any alternative proposals.

The meeting ended with a promise from the committee chairman to meet with the prime minister or the minister of finance to settle the issue immediately. All the deputies present departed with rage at the government policy which causes them to flee their districts.

8494

CSO: 4802

# LIBERAL PARTY SECRETARIAT REJECTS LAW OF SHAME, VALUES COURT

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Law of Shame Is in Violation of Constitution; Party Rejects Formation of Values Court"]

[Text] The Liberal Party General Secretariat has held an important meeting under the chairmanship of Mustafa Kamil Murad, the party chairman, in which it reviewed the domestic and external situation and the means to bolster the party activity in the coming phase.

Speaking at the outset of the meeting, the party chairman said that the National Party's political activities are due to the serious pressures faced by this party because of the unprecedented increase in the costs of commodities and services—a fact which has made the National Party heed the Liberal Party's recommendation on the need to establish a Higher Price Council.

Mustafa Murad asserted that the people view political action from the angle of its final accomplishments and of what it produced in terms of commodity and service costs. He said that the upheaval and rise in prices is due to the faulty policies followed by the government which declares a budget that exceeds its true capabilities, thus leading to a kind of inflation that causes prices to rise.

Moreover, increased production requires that the public sector capital be corrected so as to alleviate the burden of open drawing.

Mustafa Murad urged the need for launching an objective campaign against the government to criticize its financial policy and to prevent it from embarking on an inflationary wave whose consequences nobody can tell.

Maj Gen Salah al-Rifa'i then addressed the problem of inflation, demanding that Egypt declare its inflation figures and that the Ministry of Finance and government officials declare the government policy for reducing these figures and for curtailing the rise in prices.



The discussion then moved to the negotiations between Egypt and Israel and he (presumably Murad) asserted that he is certain that President Carter has not changed the essence of his position or policy, that Begin's government is threatened with losing its majority in the Israeli Knesset and that the majority balances favoring the Likud Bloc are threatened with the danger of collapsing, which means the holding of new elections in Israel.

He further added that he asserts that Begin holds convictions that are not suitable for signing agreements for a comprehensive solution and that this is why he expects a cabinet change in Israel.

He also pointed out the need to take advantage of the world's interests in the Arab area, stressing that this urges the Egyptian policy to take advantage of this situation to serve the Arab cause.

He added: While asserting that President Carter has not changed his fundamental position in his policy, I expect developments in the negotiations, even if the matter requires ousting Begin from his position.

#### Party Rejects

Regarding the law of shame, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Shafi, the party representative, asserted: Our party rejects and denounced any law that shackles liberties. We reject any penalties that are in violation of the constitution. We also reject the values court because it is not a judiciary authority.

'Abd-al-Shafi then proceeded to talk about French President d'Estaing's visit to the Gulf countries, pointing out the importance of this visit to the Camp David accords because of the obvious welcome it has received. He also demanded that Egypt adopt a serious position toward Israel, saying: We cannot continue the discussions without any progress in the negotiations.

Murad al-Sibaati, the party secretary general, then addressed the issue of the rapprochement between Sudan and the communist Ethiopia and the extent of its danger to the Arab issue in view of Ethiopia's mainstays in the Horn of Africa and South Yemen, which means expansion of the African belt of the Soviet movement in the area.

Al-Sibaati then dealt with the problem of rising food prices that has predominated all the domestic and external problems and pointed out how this problem is preoccupying the mind of every Egyptian. He warned of the deviation and disintegration that could occur in the Egyptian society as a result of these problems.

#### Storming Political Street

The party's General Secretariat then proceeded to discuss the means to bolster the party's activities. Ilfat Kanil, the party representative and People's Assembly member, urged the need to storm the political street (sic)

and to hold popular conferences in the governorates to get familiar with and to discuss the masses' problems in order to present suitable solutions for them, considering that this is a popular demand that will eliminate the political vacuum in which our masses live and will encourage the masses to take part in discussing their problems.

Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sabaki, a General Secretariat member, added that the situation requires all the Liberal Party officials in the governorates to submit accomplishment reports on their activities and on the needs of the masses in their governorates.

The General Secretariat urged the need for drawing up a working plan to visit all the governorates and to stress solidarity with the masses and serious participation in solving their problems.

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# ALEXANDRIA OFFICIALS OPPOSED TO CONSTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR PLANT NEAR CITY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 24 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Alexandria Is Being Polluted and Ministry of Electricity Insists on Nuclear Plant"]

[Text] Dr Ahmad 'Iffat, the chairman of the Nuclear Energy Authority, has admitted that Dr Fu'ad Hilmi, the governor of Alexandria, the local popular council and the authorities concerned are opposed to the construction of a nuclear plant in Sidi Karir because of the threat it poses to the security and safety of the coastal city.

This was revealed during the discussion held on the issue by the People's Assembly Education, Science and Scientific Research Committee.

In a report prepared for the committee, Dr Ahmad 'Iffat said that Engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, the minister of development, has opposed the construction of this plant and said that the high costs of this plant and the consequences emanating from it require a search for alternatives to deal with the energy crisis.

Minister al-Kafrawi also asserted that construction of the plant in this site will have a negative effect on the potentials for developing the northern coast. Moreover, exposure of the plant to any incident could lead to polluting Alexandria in its entirety in view of the west-to-east movement of the Mediterranean waters.

The report of the Nuclear Energy Authority chairman pointed out that the Alexandria Governorate Local Council has opposed the construction of the nuclear plant and decided to look for energy alternatives by using natural gas from Abu Qir field.

The nuclear energy report also dealt with Egypt's nuclear energy needs which will amount to 6000 megawatts in the year 2000. The report calls for steady approval of the project.

The report notes that the selection of Sidi Karir is due to the accessibility of the site and its proximity to water and the capacity of the soil to

withstand heavy weights. Moreover, the means of transportation and communication, as well as roads, are available.

Jibril Muhammad, who submitted the request for notification to Dr Mustafa Kamal Sabri, the minister of electricity, insisted on his position and reaffirmed his rejection of the project in part and parcel because of the dangers it poses for Alexandria.

The deputy said that neither the minister nor any scientist can claim that there are any guarantees against dangers from the nuclear reactor, especially since it will be constructed at a distance of just 3 km from the city.

Jibril Muhammad noted that the scientists have asserted that the construction of this nuclear reactor will lead to environmental pollution and to failing to realize the targeted tourist development in the northern coast.

Jibril declared in the name of Alexandria deputies their opposition to the construction of the nuclear plant. The committee is scheduled to resume its meetings shortly to complete its discussions before submitting its report to the assembly.

Despite all these objections, the Ministry of Electricity is determined to carry out the project and construct the nuclear plant on the grounds that safety elements are built into the plant design to prevent errors during operation.

The ministry justifies its insistence on this site on the grounds that constructing the plant at another site will saddle the state with enormous costs.

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## EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATOR URGED TO TAKE FIRM STAND VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL

Cairo AL-DAMA in Arabic 14 Apr 80 pp 4-6

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "Israel Defies Egyptian Negotiator"]

[Text] Regardless of the Jerusalem initiative, of the two Camp David documents and of the peace treaty--regardless of all these steps which we have opposed, not for political goals, political oneupsmanship or opportunistic slogans because we have never demanded anything other than the rule of Islam, because we, as we have already said, say and will always say, are not concerned with who rules and because the only thing that concerns us and in which we are interested is what form of rule exists and what is its system--we have expressed our opposition on the basis of the principles of our religion that do not permit a non-Muslim to occupy Islamic land and do not permit Muslims to approve such occupation willingly and voluntarily.

This has been a necessary prelude to remind the clean and faithful minds of the position of this magazine toward the treaty with Israel. However, what I want to explain in this article is something that has always occurred to my mind and preoccupied it--something which visits my mind during the day if I repel it at night and hangs over my bed if I push it away during the day. Egypt's negotiators with Israel have gone to limits that I do not think any other negotiator would agree to go with Israel. Egypt has implemented immediately and on schedule, even before schedule, all that to which the treaty has committed it. But what they [the Israelis] undertook has not emerged to the world of implementation, excluding the withdrawal from a part of the Sinai. Only God knows what is concealed behind this withdrawal because Israel fulfills no promise it makes, unless a bigger gain accrues to it from this withdrawal--a gain with benefits that exceed the occupation and that make Israel look like a faithful signatory.

## What Does Israel Want?

We wonder, what does Israel, with its position toward the Egyptian negotiator, want? What we see in Israel's position toward the Egyptian negotiator has numerous meanings that are neither pleasing nor reassuring. It is either that Israel is defying the Egyptian negotiator after all the



readiness that this negotiator has displayed to achieve stability! If this assumption is right, then why this defiance? Who encourages Israel to engage in this defiance? Who enables it to persist in it with utter arrogance and vanity? What does Israel seek behind this defiance? Doesn't all this arouse suspicion and doubts and make it impossible to decide what all the Israelis, and not just their negotiators, are thinking of?

Or it is that Israel wants to embarrass the Egyptian negotiator openly. If this assumption is right, then what is the goal? Does Israel want the Egyptian negotiator to disavow all that has been done and to return the mill to churn in its place endlessly out of its belief that time is in its favor, especially if the Muslim rulers persist in their estrangement, either out of stupidity or on purpose, and its belief that all this can only be ended by the destruction of these rulers on the hands of Israel, the east or the west? This embarrassment harms the position of the Egyptian negotiator, especially since he fails to counter the embarrassment with similar embarrassment. This embarrassment shakes the trust in the Egyptian negotiator. What is Israel's interest in such a situation? This embarrassment gives the rejectionist states broad opportunities to persist in their rejection which is founded on personal interests and political goals that do not include safeguarding the lands of the Muslims. Does Israel want this? If this is what it wants, then why does it put the Egyptian negotiator in this painful position? If it doesn't want it, then why is it doing this? What interest does Israel have in embarrassing a negotiator who has not held back in making numerous sacrifices for the sake of stability--a stability which, I think, will never be realized as long as Israel persists in its position? If Israel thinks that it will achieve with the Muslim peoples what it has achieved with their rulers, then Israel, its supporters and those allied with it are deluded. The Muslim peoples are determined and resolute. This will become evident to the entire world at a time that only God knows--and we hope it is imminent--because God's concern for His call is greater than to leave it to these mad enemies.

Or is it that Israel wants to distort the image of the current ruler of Egypt and to harm him in such a way that would lead to a lot, especially since Israel is aware of the extent of the Muslim world's feelings against its usurpation of an Islamic land? Or is it that Israel is rewarding the regime in Egypt for the qualities of cordiality, peace and of the desire for tranquillity, security and prosperity that this regime has attributed to it? Does it hurt Israel, now that it has reached this degree of arrogance toward Egypt, if a true word said in defense of an obvious right impairs its oppression? We want the Egyptian negotiator, regardless of how deeply we oppose him in this regard, not to work for Israel and perhaps he will find in what he has done regarding this plan which we disavow and which we do not approve some good for his nation. I believe now that the positions of all the parties concerned, both eastern and western, have become clear and evident to the Egyptian negotiator.

## United States Will Do Nothing

We read in the papers of Monday, 18 February 1980, that Egypt is asking the United States to intervene as an active partner to stop the settlement policy that is threatening the area and that will not encourage the Palestinians to join the peace procession. Is this the extent of the Egyptian negotiator's efforts in the face of this flagrant and arrogant defiance? The United States will do nothing opposed to Israel's wishes, regardless of how extremely these wishes violate right, justice and fairness. This has been the U.S. position since the creation of Israel. The United States was the first state to recognize Israel, followed by Moscow. The United States will not go beyond superficial protests and verbal objection insofar as Israel is concerned. How do we know that there isn't an agreement between the United States and Israel on these tricks? Does the United States think that there is in the world a single fool who believes that the United States cannot stop Israel where it should be stopped, that is if the United States wants to stop Israel? I don't imagine that the United States wants to. All actions and positions confirm that the United States is fully satisfied with all that Israel is doing.

Will the Egyptian negotiator be content with the approval by the Human Rights Committee, convened in Geneva on 13 February 1980, of a resolution condemning Israel for violating the human rights, including the Palestinian rights, in the occupied territories? This is a powerless resolution that has been approved by only a little more than the half [sic]. The resolution was approved by 28 votes and opposed by one vote and 10 voters abstained. Is the Egyptian content with the U.S. objection--mere objection--to the settlement in the town of Hebron, and Hebron only? Is the Egyptian negotiator content with Waldheim's condemnation of the Israeli decisions concerning the town of Hebron? What is more, are the Muslims content with an Egyptian official statement saying that Begin's statements on the armament of Egypt reflect the same thinking prevalent before the peace treaty (AL-AKHBAR of Tuesday, 26 February 1980)? It is surprising! Has the Egyptian negotiator forgotten that the Egyptians have never thought that Israel has ever changed its (concept) before or after the creation of Israel? Has the Egyptian negotiator thought that Israel's thinking is different today from what it was before the peace treaty? If this is so, then I implore God to give this negotiator the ability for accurate evaluation, sound thinking and good judgment.

Before the Egyptian negotiator asked the United States to intervene as an active partner, he had sent Vance a message demanding that the United States take a decisive position vis-a-vis Israel's decision permitting settlement in the town of Hebron (AL-AKHBAR of Thursday, 14 February 1980). What has the United States done in response to this persistence by the Egyptian negotiator? Nothing! Has it intervened as an active partner? Not at all! Has it taken a decisive position? We have seen nothing of this intervention or decisive position, unless we consider the Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlement and the explanation given by the United

States for its approval of the decision active intervention and a decisive position! When have the Security Council resolutions had any weight, insofar as Israel or others are concerned, at the international political level? Have we forgotten the Security Council's position toward Italy's usurpation of Ethiopia?

#### Royal Titles Misplaced Like Cat Swelling Up To Look as Mighty as a Lion

Is the Egyptian negotiator content with all these meaningless protests and resolutions? If the Egyptian negotiator does not change his present approach toward Israel and if he doesn't change his contentment with these resolutions and protests, Israel will persist in its excesses until it renounces what it agreed to at Camp David and in the peace treaty--which we have opposed provision by provision--until it achieves all it has sought from signing the two [Camp David] documents and the treaty, and "it is as if you have never staged your raid, Abu-Zayd!" So that the reader may believe that I am not slandering or defaming, I refer him to Israel's position toward these resolutions and protests.

#### Israel's True Intentions

The papers of Monday, 11 February 1980, say that the Israeli Government decided to permit the Israelis to settle in the town of Hebron in the occupied West Bank in response to the demands of Ariel Sharon, the minister of agriculture. Radio Israel said that the Council of Ministers approved a compromise presented by Begin (after a split had erupted among the cabinet members over Sharon's demand) to permit the Israelis to settle in Hebron in principle and to postpone the date of their moving to the town. The cabinet also decided to strengthen the settlement of Kiryat [Arba] and to build 1400 more housing units in this settlement and to build three other settlements in the West Bank!! For God's sake, is this the behavior of somebody who is concerned with the Security Council or anybody else or is it the behavior of somebody who is certain of whatever he does and confident that his actions will reach their goal? Has Israel been content with this defiance, not only of Egypt but of the entire world? No. The Israeli cabinet adopted yesterday a unanimous (and take a long pause before the world unanimous) decision on the right of the Jews in principle to settle in the town of Hebron or in any other part of the West Bank! How shocking, how arrogant, how self-confident and how defiant of everybody who lives on the surface of the earth!! This unanimous decision by the Israeli cabinet is a decisive indication of what decisions Israel will continue to adopt, not only toward Hebron but also toward any other part it wants in the West Bank. These are the statements that Israel is making today and who knows what statements it will make tomorrow if we maintain toward it our present approach which has made it greedy and has made it declare after the treaty what it had never declared before it? Have we concluded the treaty to get the biggest part of our rights or have we concluded it so that Israel may realize all its ambitions? Is there no end to the Egyptian negotiator's patience and is there no change in this patience?!



## Afghanistan, the Lesson

What we fear most is what we read in the Egyptian press about the tense situation between Washington and Tel Aviv because of the U.S. position on the settlements during the Security Council vote to condemn Israel for the settlements. I am afraid that the Egyptians will think that the United States supports Egypt versus Israel. I am astonished that Egypt considers this U.S. position as a position that supports it. I see it as a position intended to make the foolish believe that the United States is concerned with Egypt and is sacrificing the Israeli interests, especially since Carter has explained the U.S. delegate's approval of the resolution to Israel's satisfaction!

The entire world is condemning the communists because of Afghanistan and this is an opportunity for the United States to appear as a supporter of human rights. This is no position. It is only a demonstration meant to make people thank the United States and sing the praises of its justice until Russia digests the big meal it has swallowed in Afghanistan, until the tumultuous sea subsides and regains its calm and until Russia wins Afghanistan and Israel wins its settlements in any place it wants--a place which Israel now defines as the West Bank and which it may enlarge tomorrow until it goes beyond all limits. It was the duty of the Egyptian negotiator not to normalize the relations and not to exchange ambassadors as long as this is Israel's position toward our brothers in Palestine. What benefit will we get from the U.S. support for the Egyptian position if this support is restricted to words that are carried away by a whiff of wind moments later? I am not saying that the United States must go to war against Israel for the sake of Egypt. This is something that no rational man can think of because the finger of any [U.S.] soldier is dearer to the United States than the Middle East and all those in it. But I am demanding that the United States proceed to arm Egypt on an equal footing with its armament of Israel. This is the practical measure if the United States wants to prove its goodwill toward the Muslims. The United States is capable of doing this, if it wants to. But it is not doing it. Why? I don't know, or perhaps I do know but I don't want to interfere with what is hidden in the hearts even though all the signs indicate what is there.

## There is an Alternative

But what is the alternative? What will stop Israel's arrogance? The east? The west? No. We are the ones who hold the successful solution in our hands. It may take long. So, let it. But we will continue to hold a right that will not be lost as long as we cling to it and demand it. The obstacles are numerous, the difficulties are enormous and the barriers are many. But when has all this dissuaded a people from realizing their aspirations, that is if they want to live with God's help? The blame for our current situation does not fall on the shoulders of the government alone. The major share of the blame falls on the shoulders of some members of the Egyptian people who do not realize the dangers to which the Muslims are exposed. They are the ones who build brazen movie houses that diminish the

value of manliness in the hearts of men, who frequent theaters that offer only that which washes away every noble concept, who have been preoccupied with the hardships of life from seeking what is lofty and sublime and who watch the destruction crawling upon them from every direction as if the matter does not concern them, those from whose emotions 'Abd-al-Nasir's regime erased in a terrible manner the feelings of fraternity, solidarity and cooperation and those whose interest in a sports event is manyfold in their interest in religious matters. Strength and preparedness between the Afghan people and Russia cannot be compared but we still read every day the paramount examples of the glorious and proud acts recorded by these people despite their small numbers and their inadequate equipment. Resistance to the communist invasion of Afghanistan is not confined to men alone. The old men, the women and the children are also displaying to the world examples of their valor, courage and sacrifice for the freedom and dignity of Afghanistan. Isn't it time for us to understand this great lesson. Muslims in all parts of the world get worried if bread and meat run short but show no such concern toward the plots and invasions spreading in every part where Muslims live. Isn't it time for the Egyptians to make their government feel that they will endure hunger patiently, will endure nakedness patiently and are fully prepared not to embarrass their government with transient demands if it directs them toward the sublime and toward the wrenching of rights? Let the prominent citizens provide the example in giving up expensive clothes, bright neckties, turkeys and geese so that the people may be reassured and so that the path may be blocked in the face of the communists who make a trade of the people's hardships to assume power and then to subject the people to manyfold the hardships they suffer. One position or one act by a prominent citizen or by a venerable ulema is capable of transforming the people from a position of humiliation to one of augustness and from a position of weakness to one of daring. Isn't it surprising that the voices are going hoarse in protest of the information media while we fail to hear a single voice rise from the venerated ulema in this regard? Till when will the flood leave no lofty edifice without destroying it and dragging it to the mud?

God have a compassionate look on these aimless people. Restore this people to their senses, plant their feet firmly on the earth and raise them to high peaks. O faithful men of Egypt, distinguish yourselves and you pure youths of Egypt "God would not scatter the faithful as He has scattered you before separating the evil from the good and God will not let you know the unknown." [Loose translation of Koran quotation]. Power is always in the hands of God and He alone decides the consequences of things.

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CSO: 4802



## MUSLIMS URGED TO TERMINATE TREATIES WITH SOVIETS, UNITED STATES

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic 14 Apr 80 pp 7-9, 66

[Article by 'Abd-al-Mun-im Salim Jibarah: "Path to Afghanistan: Friendship Treaties and Alliances With Moscow or Washington Mean Imperialist Interests at Expense of Peoples; Path of Muslims to Afghanistan Should Be Through Entire Muslim World"]

[Text] There is nobody more boastful than the neo-colonialist forces when they speak about friendship and friendship treaties, alliances and alliance making and their commitment to the rights of friends and allies.

There is nobody that ridicules peoples and the minds of peoples more strongly than Washington and Moscow when the White House or the Kremlin claim that Moscow's history or Washington's history abound with manly, brave, courageous and noble positions when catastrophes afflict a people or when tragedies befall a country tied to Russia or to the United States by friendship treaties, bonds and alliances, regardless of whether the catastrophes are man-made or whether men have nothing to do with them.

We are not saying this falsely or in disregard to the truth. We say it on the basis of the logic of the facts and of the record of events, especially the history of the immediate past whose ink is not dry yet and for which the witnesses are still alive and going and coming, and the basis of the current events which are causing blood to run and flow from the wound of peoples like rivers. This is why ridiculing peoples and the mind of peoples is hateful and abominable.

## Treaties...Ink on Paper

There was a friendship treaty between Egypt and Moscow until the early 1970's and its ink was still not dry when the Ramadan war broke out. Hardly the first days of the battle had passed and the situation turned critical when the loyalty of the Soviet Union to its pledges, promises and provisions and its concern for the friendship and for the right of the ally had turned into a total disavowal of the provisions of the treaty. The Soviet Union stopped the weapons and withheld the aid and even exerted pressure

on the ally to make him succumb to his enemy. This was at a time when Washington established land, sea and air bridges with the Jewish enemy to supply him with advanced and sophisticated weapons.

Moscow has concluded more than one friendship treaty and more than one alliance with more than one government in the Arab and Islamic lands. The simplest rule of friendship is for the friend to make his friend's enemy his own enemy. But the Soviet Union has undertaken to expand the Jewish entity on the land of the Muslim Arabs through human aid consisting of experts, scientists, soldiers and weapons [sic] at a time when Moscow insists that the rights of friendship with its Arab allies are governed by more than one framework:

1. Weapons within the limits of so-called defense. This is an approach not different from the U.S. approach concerning the weapons that Washington supplies to its Arab friends. 2. A fluid position that is not free of the signs of bargaining toward the Palestinian issue, whether in terms of an open recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate entity representing the Palestinian people or in terms of supporting clearly and without any ambiguity--and without any winks behind the backs of the Arab friends meant as a signal for keeping the bridges extended and open with the Jewish entity--the establishment of a state on whatever remains of the Palestinian lands, even if this leads to the withdrawal of ambassadors and the severance of relations. 3. Constant endeavors to contain the friends under the slogan of friendship and the extension of influence and of domination under the pretext of alliance and of military bases responding to the requirements of the firm relations and military and non-military experts as proof of the entrenchment of relations--all of which are meant to restrict the political, economic and social inclinations of the friend to prevent him from following any course other than the red course and from revolving in any sphere other than the Russian sphere. All of this is also meant to make the friend declare his support, satisfaction and admiration for the policy of the tzars even if their tanks and armies sweep through the lands of the Muslim Afghans, kill their youth, violate their honor, fight their religion and install as their ruler a new puppet over the spilled blood of other puppets such as Taraki and Hafizullah. Karmal and the new colonists behind him in Kabul are, in the view of the Syrian Ba'thists and those who call themselves the leftist revolutionaries in South Yemen, Afghanistan's progressive revolutionaries, the wounded Muslim people are the reactionaries rolling in the mud of backwardness and the advocates of Islam are the elements of corruption that must be cut off and crushed.

What is more, the colonel of the Socialist Libyan Jamahiriyyah and the leftist elements in the PLO have to take a position in which they disavow the sentiments of the Muslim peoples toward the Muslim Afghan people, totally disregarding the relations of fraternity between themselves and the Afghan people!

#### Friendship American Style

There used to be a friendship and alliance treaty between Pakistan and Washington. But after long experiences and after encountering numerous tragic

positions which exposed the American-style friendship, Pakistan declared its withdrawal from the alliance and its rejection of the friendship, even though Washington still insist that the friendship persist and the alliances are still alive. I think that honeyed U.S. words, promises and pledges will not be met by the Muslim Pakistani people by their seeking anew--earnestly and with confidence--the ties of friendship or alliance treaties with the United States for several reasons, including:

In 1971, a war erupted in the Indian subcontinent between Pakistan and India. In that war, India's aggression against Pakistan was obvious and flagrant and was represented at the outset by the amassment of enormous forces on Pakistan's eastern borders and by the dispatch of many agents inside the Pakistani territories to carry out sabotage and destruction operations and then by the Indian army's invasion of the Pakistani territories, its seizure of Dacca and its separating East Pakistan from West Pakistan.

Had the conflict in the subcontinent between the Muslims and the Hindus ended without foreign intervention by certain foreign sides and had it been met with utter silence by other foreign sides, it would not have aroused as much surprise and suspicions. However:

1. Moscow intervened with all its weight and forces to support the aggressive position of India. Indian aircraft were raiding the Pakistani territories and Pakistani positions with Moscow's missiles and munitions and under the protection of Moscow's aircraft. Moreover, the Russian weapons were playing their role against Pakistan's Muslims on land and at sea.
2. Russian supply bridges were extended to India and all the routes were opened to India without any obstacles.
3. Washington watched from afar the progress of the one-sided battles without intervening to help the friendly and allied Pakistan! Washington withheld from Pakistan even the American-style condemnation and protest statements that have become well-known in the case of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.
4. After the end of the war and the partition of the Islamic entity into East Pakistan, under the name of Bangladesh, and West Pakistan, it became evident that the parties involved in the game inside and outside India had performed their roles so perfectly that the common goals of all those parties were achieved, as well as the private goals of each party. What is important is that all the parties gained, including the American friends. The only ones who incurred the loss were the Muslims--the Muslims in Pakistan and the Muslims everywhere, especially since some of their rulers took toward the Indian aggression against Pakistan positions ranging from statements condemning the Indian position and expressing emotional support for Pakistan, to total silence toward what took place in the subcontinent, to expressing sympathy for India's position toward the Pakistani Muslims and

to opening their communication routes to Moscow's ships and aircraft to carry weapons and spareparts for the friendly India to strike the Muslim Pakistan! In taking such positions, those rulers were following the footsteps of the U.S. policy and were seeking to please it!

The policy of the friendly Washington has followed and is continuing to follow the same direction, which is opposed to the Muslim interests, in the Middle East with its open material, military and political support for the Jews and its plundering of the Arab resources and striking of the Arab interests in the heart. There is no objection to raising the banners of the U.S.-Arab friendship and to clamorous statements reaffirming the qualities and bonds of this friendship and there is no objection to the hints concerning the invasion and occupation of the oil areas!

### Interest First

The American and Russian-style friendship treaties mean nothing other than plundering, looting, domination, the extension of influence, intervention in domestic affairs, direction of foreign policy and the total sacrificing of friends, should the need arise, to realize self-interests.

Friendship and friendship treaties mean to the super-powers self-interest first and foremost.

After its military coup, Somalia was the first country in the Horn of Africa to open its doors to the Russian friends. Somalia gave them ports and bases and Berbera turned into a Soviet stronghold on the shores of the Horn. Friendship in the Russian style demanded that the coup makers form the Revolutionary Socialist Party to implant schools in the villages and the residential areas not to wipe out illiteracy but to teach the good Somalis atheism and that which is shameful. To put it briefly, Somalia made long strides on the path of Marxism during which it gave and granted and won nothing in return.

When Mariam's regime emerged in Ethiopia, raised the banners of revolutionism and offered the Russians more [than Somalia], in addition to the tactical and strategic agreement of the two sides to fight Islam in the area and to crush the Muslims in the Ogaden--the Russian friends turned to support Mariam against the revolutionaries in Somalia and amassed mercenaries from Cuba and East Germany to crush the Ogaden liberation movement and to strike the border Somali towns and villages as if Siad Barre had not offered the Russians ports and airports and had not fought religion and crushed the ulama of Islam in the near past! But the Russian interests come first.

The Russians who are still declaring their readiness to support the liberation movements and their eagerness for the friendship of peoples did not hesitate for a moment in crushing the Hungarian people's revolution, in moving down the Czechoslovak people and in annihilating the revolutionaries in East Germany and Poland when these peoples rose to declare their wrath at the agent regimes and to make known their rejection of the Soviet domination.



When the Americans intensified their raids against Vietnam to the point of striking Hanoi when Kosygin was its guest, it was no secret to anybody with any intelligence that the Russians were most eager for Hanoi and Washington to reach an agreement whose fruits the Russians would reap by extending their influence in Indochina and using it as a launching stage against the communist China. This means that the Russian friendship and Russian alliance with the Vietnamese signified no more than having the local communists do the fighting and letting the Russians reap the fruits, in addition to exploiting the post-war position to threaten another communist entity and to try to subjugate or destroy it.

#### Carter's Admission

At the U.S. level, the U.S. statements and declarations have been extremely strong and enthusiastic in expressing opposition to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. However, this has not prevented the U.S. president from revealing the true U.S. sentiments and intentions when he declared that the United States will benefit from the Russian invasion of Afghanistan at the level of the Islamic world. Neither did the U.S. president hesitate to declare Carter's principle to contain the area from East Asia to East Africa.

Then came Brzezinski's statement that the United States will not stand idle in the face of the Russian tide if it surpasses Afghanistan's borders and that the United States is committed to the friendship treaty with Pakistan. The U.S. president's aide for national security affairs has forgotten that the United States disavowed the treaty in the past and turned a blind eye to the Soviet intervention in support of India and against Pakistan in the 1971 war! Mr Brzezinski has also forgotten that the United States is supporting India with all it needs to continue its nuclear activity at a time when Washington has announced the suspension of all aid to Pakistan on the pretext of its engaging in nuclear activity threatening to peace!

Thus, the rule by which the Moscow policy and Washington policy abide is the rule of Russian or U.S. interests. Friendship means the realization, securing or attainment of these interests. The price that the other friends pay changes nothing in the picture. Rather, such a price is required if it contributes to the realization of the [desired] results!

#### Path to Afghanistan

If friendship treaties in the Russian or American concept mean only the imperialist interests and mean that the other parties must pay and sacrifice, then this also means that the most important step which the Muslims must take on the right path that leads them to Afghanistan is the step of abrogating the treaties and renouncing the bonds with the two powers.

Considering that the error of some who believed that the Russians will stop at certain axes in Afghanistan or that they will withdraw after the condition stabilizes and after the new puppets and agents gain control--considering that this error has been proven, especially since it has become evident



that the Russians have spread in every inch of Afghanistan and have rushed to the borders to tighten the siege around the country and to prepare the way leading to the warm gulf and to pounce in one step or in several steps on the center of the Islamic world to realize the dreams that have lived in the Kremlin since the disappearance of Peter the Great and to the time of the rise of the red tzar;

And considering that the U.S. international movement at the level of the Islamic world is proceeding to realize the U.S. interests, aspirations and ambitions to control, with weapons or without weapons, the Islamic world which represents to the two sides the most important area of ambitions and dreams where the most important interests are found;

Then all this means that the path of the Muslims to the Muslim Afghanistan cannot pass through Washington or through Moscow but through the entire Islamic world with all its cities, villages and capitals, through Iran and Pakistan and through Turkey.

The guarantees and possibilities of reaching [Afghanistan] mean and require:

1. A collective economic, political and cultural position toward Moscow with total disregard for a question that some people unwittingly or intentionally reiterate, namely: "Where is the alternative to Moscow?" The alternative to Moscow or Washington is the Islamic world itself in which the small entities should unite for the sake of the big entity, in response to the logic of Islam and in accordance with the requirements and necessities of the age. The Muslims had never lost as heavily as they have lost since their world has broken down into mini-states led by kings, princes and sectarian leaders.

#### Lesson From History

The united Andalusia survived for centuries, radiating light and dispersing darkness. But the sectarian Andalusia collapsed and disappeared in years.

The logic of Islam, which makes it a must to create the big Islamic entity, provides the Muslims with clear and obvious features for the achievement of their united entity, namely following God's Shari'a and installing His book as the judge. The first step consists of having people reconcile themselves with their Islam. It means returning to Islam and moving within its framework. Moving within the framework of Islam means among other things, severing the relations with Moscow at all levels, directing the economy of the Muslim world to serve the Muslims and improve their conditions and means employing this economy for their scientific, cultural and technological progress so that they may live in their age, may pull down the walls separating them, may strengthen all their relations, may proceed toward definite major goals and may not be content with threatening to abstain from participating in the Olympics in Moscow or with issuing blazing statements because all this means nothing other than the fact that the days of the black bull are limited now that the bear has devoured the white bull.

2. Bolstering the last line of defense in the face of the Russian march: This means undertaking all the responsibilities required by the serious situation reached by Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. The enormous problems faced by Pakistan in terms of the lack of money and the need for weapons, this deterioration in the economy from which Turkey suffers and this turbulent situation which Iran is still trying to overcome while being burdened with pressures and plots require rapid and unlimited Islamic aid before the wall collapses and matters get out of control.

It is also required that the wealth of the Muslims, which is vast and enormous, be employed to support the Muslims in Pakistan, Iran and Turkey so that this wealth may serve its owners now and in the future. This is better than preventing this wealth from supporting the last Islamic frontline because the enemy will devour this wealth in the future if the wall collapses and neither the Muslims in the interior nor those on the borders will be able to benefit from this wealth.

3. Breaking away from the circle of fear and hesitation and rushing to extend the bridges across the Afghan borders to supply the revolutionaries with all they need and to give the battle all its wants so that the earth of Afghanistan may turn into flames burning the feet of the Russians, so that the mountain peaks may collapse on the heads of the Russians and crush them and so that the Russians may learn an effective and profound lesson after having crushed many peoples and trampled their dignity in Asia, Europe and Africa.

Along with supplying the strugglers in Afghanistan with the requirements of the battle without conditions and without sensitivities and supplying the refugees with aid and with what is required to face the hard living conditions and the bitterly cold winter, the Islamic world must sever all relations with the lackey government in Kabul and must mobilize its media to expose this government and to expose the means of deception and trickery with which this government is trying to mislead the Muslim people of Afghanistan. These media must launch an international campaign to win over the broadest international front to the side of the persecuted Afghan people.

4. If the dangers of the Palestinian tragedy have disappeared, or almost disappeared, from the minds and emotions of the present generations as a result of a policy followed by the Islamic world rulers from the 1940's and until the present, the catastrophe of Afghanistan makes it a must now, if we want to seriously confront the danger, to remove the debris covering all the issues, to focus the lights on all the present and future dangers and to bring up the generations on knowing their enemies and knowing all the means to confront them. This means a comprehensive and fundamental change in the educational curricula of the Islamic world. No educational system will succeed unless it is based on a creed that does not pour water on the fire of revenge and the fire of rage for the violated honor or usurped land and a creed that does not spread ashes over the blood of the innocent victims so that their traces may be erased.

5. Even though the weapon markets and the means to acquire weapons have become numerous these days, the latest and most sophisticated weapons are still controlled by the major powers. This means that the path of the Arabs to acquire weapons will continue to proceed in the direction of Moscow or Washington. Triumphant battles which need confrontation on the basis of major entities, ideological education and scientific planning also require weapons in unlimited quantities and of unlimited quality--weapons whose quantity and quality and supply or lack of supply are not controlled by the Kremlin's or Washington's policy. This means that the Muslims must mobilize the weapons currently at their disposal to support Afghanistan and must seek very energetically and actively to set up military industries in their own countries now that they are approaching the end of the 20th century. Otherwise, Muhammad 'Ali was more alert and mature, had better foresight and greater knowledge of his country's resources and was more resolute, daring and serious when he set up a military industry at the broadest level and up to the latest standards at the end of the first half of the 19th century!

The battles between the Muslims and the forces of colonization and invasion will not stop in Afghanistan and this makes us say: Continued reliance on the weapons of the east or of the west means continued inability to face either the east or the west.

#### What Is Required of Muslims?

6. The Muslims are required these days to overcome the internal elements of their defeat. They are also required to overcome the external elements of their defeats. This calls on them to return to their identity, to stop being dazzled by others and to understand the limit separating modernism in the correct Islamic concept and modernism in the imported concept or the concept of those who are dazzled. This is accompanied by other needs, including the need for sound planning and sound implementation and the need to strengthen the relationship between the citizen and the state. This depends in large part on the nature of the regime and of the rulers and the nature of the presidency and of the presidents.

7. Pakistan's persistence in its nuclear policy is the best thing that Karachi is doing to guarantee confronting future catastrophes and dangers. To face the dangers of its serious position between India and its ambitions to the east and the south, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan to the north and the U.S. temperament to whose fluctuations the weapons are subject and are either supplied as if by an eye dropper or withheld according to the thermometer of interests--to face these dangers, Pakistan must embark on a race with time to produce its atomic bomb, especially since it is located between two presences that have both entered the nuclear club either through many or through one of its doors.

8. The Islamic resources--resources required by the guarantees of the path to Afghanistan to be supplied to the Muslims in all their countries--must also be mobilized and employed to exert pressure on the enemies. For all

or part of these resources to remain employed to serve a malicious enemy or to help him to move his tanks and aircraft to strike and crush the Muslims, this is something that is incompatible with the simplest rules of confrontation and that denies the presence of sincere intentions seeking a decisive or serious confrontation.

#### Our Responsibility Before Future Generations Is Enormous

The fall of the Muslim Afghanistan in the grip of the Russians is the most serious danger faced by the Muslims in this age. If it has been the lot of the current generations to see Palestine and Afghanistan fall before their eyes while they stand submissive before the enemy or fight with each other, then what makes their responsibility before the future generations even bigger is that they have allowed the homelands to be lost after having inherited them complete and almost untouched. The present generations are thus adding more to their sins and are saddling the future generations with burdens on top of burdens and with a legacy bogged down with cares, filled with the blood of the innocent and the violated honor of pure women and the plundered and burnt land of Islam.

The path to Afghanistan is rugged and difficult. But with the presence of sure and available guarantees, it is easy to reach. However, what obstructs such arrival is the continued presence of people who impose themselves as rulers in the capital of the Omriads [Damascus] or in Aden and who cheer and clamor for whoever invades or occupies Islamic lands. For the requirements of the march to be complete, these lackey thrones must be destroyed and control must be restored to the peoples because the peoples will quickly rally behind the banners of the battle and will rapidly proceed on the path to Afghanistan.

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# EGYPTIANS URGED TO BOYCOTT ISRAELIS, ISRAELI PRODUCTS

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic 14 Apr 80 p 27

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus: "Making Israel Feel Alien in Our Lands Is Our First Duty"]

[Text] The position of the Muslim Brotherhood and of all the other Islamic groups without exception vis-a-vis the normalization of relations with Israel is fully obvious. It is the position of total rejection of the establishment of normal relations with the Israelis because this cannot be realized when they treat us and our Arab brothers in a totally abnormal manner.

## Our Rejection Is Not Based on Fanaticism

In our rejection to establish any relationship with Israel, we do not do so because they are Jews. The Jews lived in the Muslim world, with their lives and their property safe and secure, at a time when they are being massacred in the various countries of Europe.

Let me explain to you briefly and clearly our viewpoint regarding the normalization of relations with Israel:

1. I wonder: How can cordial relations be established with Israel when the Israelis refuse resolutely to give the Palestinian people the right to determine their future freely, when they continue to occupy the Arab territories, when they declare impudently that Jerusalem is their capital forever and when they build settlements everywhere? The establishment of cordial relations with Israel means one thing only, our abandonment of the restoration of Arab rights. God forbid that we should do so.

2. In the history of all the free and struggling peoples in all parts of the world, cordial relations have never been established with those occupying and desecrating the land. So, how can we be asked to establish cordial relations with Israel when the Israelis are still occupying one third, or 33.3 percent, of Sinai's land, in addition to other Islamic territories.



We will not go to the distant history to confirm our viewpoint but will resort to recent history to confirm it. None of the African or Asian nations established cordial relations with France and Britain which had colonized them for hundreds of years until after their complete evacuation.

Our position is clear. We want Israel to evacuate completely from our territories--and every Islamic territory is our territory--and we want it not to impose on us by force the establishment of cordial and diplomatic relations with it as a pre-condition for complete evacuation.

3. What is surprising is that the aggressor wants to collect the price of his aggression and to impose enormous conditions before evacuating from the Sinai, calling all this a peace treaty. What is also astonishing is that Israel's conditions are not at all compatible with real peace. The first prerequisite of peace is for all conditions to be normal.

What peace is this that stipulates no Egyptian army be present in the Sinai, except under special conditions? What peace is this that stipulates that United Nations forces be deployed along the Egyptian-Israeli borders and that Egypt shall have no right to demand their withdrawal? How can we be asked to approve these unfair conditions that can never be included in a real peace treaty?

4. Tens of thousands of Egyptians have died as the victims of Israel's repeated attacks against our country. The Zionists have shed more of our blood than any other state has shed of Egypt's blood throughout its history. Doesn't all this require a long time to allow the wounds to heal? How can we become their friends overnight? Isn't this incompatible with all reason and logic and doesn't it indicate excessive artificiality? All artificiality is rejected.

#### Historic Task Awaiting All of Us

Now that the catastrophe has befallen us and that Israel has an embassy in our country, what is our duty? Should we blow up the embassy? Should we kidnap the Jewish diplomats and kill them? No and a thousand no's.

Brother, if we blow up the Israeli embassy in Cairo, be certain that this will lead to no result other than the construction of a new embassy at Egypt's expense.

Brother, trying to destroy the embassy is a partial action that must be disregarded. We must all turn to the greater goal, namely the goal of obstructing Israel's dream to establish normal relations with its neighbors and the dream of its safety, stability and of realizing its ambitions. If this dream of Israel's is realized, then it will mean the everlasting loss of Jerusalem, the continued construction of Jewish settlements on our Arab territories and the perpetuation of the heavy shackles imposed on us in the peace treaty. Briefly, it means the final loss of all of

our usurped rights and the creation of the greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates and to the city of our noble prophet.

Don't you agree with me that there will be no reason to motivate Israel to abandon its intransigence as long as the Egyptian people, the first defender of Islam, are content and happy with the new cordial and normal relations with Israel?

Brother, we must make Israel feel alien in our lands and must make her feel that the Egyptian people view her with apprehension and suspicion. This is why we urge you to boycott whatever is Jewish. Every Israeli coming to Egypt must feel that he is an outcast boycotted by the broad use of the people.

How great will be the service you perform for your country if you refuse to work with any Israeli, regardless of how huge the salary he offers you!

How magnificent will Egypt's image be when the Egyptians refuse to deal with the Israelis until they regain all the Egyptian and Arab rights.

How harsh will be the blow dealt Israel when Egypt's sons boycott whatever is Israeli! This is stronger than any violence that we may employ against Israel's presence in our country.

If our state, for various reasons that have required our government to conclude the peace treaty with Israel, is incapable of waging war against Israel in this phase, our great people are fully capable of obstructing the realization of Israel's goal represented in the establishment of normal relations at the expense of usurped rights and the occupied territories.

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# DEAN OF QATAR ISLAMIC LAW COLLEGE PRAISES MUSLIM YOUTH GROUPS

Cairo AL-DA'WAN in Arabic 14 Apr 80 pp 60-61

[Interview with Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi, dean of Islamic Law and Studies College of Qatar University, by Badr Ahmad: "Why Do They Fight Youth of Islamic Universities; Islamic Movement in Egypt Is Mother Movement"]

[Text] The Muslim groups in Egypt's universities are the hope awaited by the Muslims at present, not only in Egypt alone but in the entire world. These Muslim youths are the "stronghold of protection" against the waves of the Zionist Jewish encroachment upon the Muslim countries, especially since this [Jewish] entity has become an indisputable fait accompli. This is why those in charge of the affairs of Muslims should have realized that these youths require care, guidance, attention and support because they understand well the Jewish ambitions in the area, having already learned the characteristics of the Jews from God's venerable book.

## Islamic Groups

[Question] At a good meeting which brought me together with His Eminence Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi, the advocate of Islam and the dean of the Islamic Law and Studies College of Qatar University, I asked his eminence: What is your opinion of the youth of the Islamic groups in the governorates?

[Answer] There is something I would like to say, namely that I consider this youth the greatest thing in Egypt at present. This youth has been planted by God, may He be praised. This youth is characterized by its strict adherence to Islam, its being resolute and its being prepared to struggle for its religion. However, I advise this youth to be moderate, without going to excesses and without squandering. Every Muslim youth must learn that there are degrees. In terms of proscribed actions, there are the most atrocious crimes, the grave offenses, the forbidden acts, acts abhorred and interdicted and acts that are abhorred and above which man should rise. In terms of what is permissible, there are also the desirable rules and the stressed rules. It is enough for the youth to abide by what is required and avoid what is proscribed in this period. We don't have to commit people to what we ourselves are committed in order for the call to proceed in its right path. This is what I want to say and stress to the Muslim youth.

[Question] What is the duty of the Muslim peoples toward their brothers in faith who are engaged in a struggle for survival in many countries?

[Answer] First, it is the duty of the Muslim peoples to pay attention to these issues and to turn them into the focus, and not the margin, of their feelings. These issues are the reality under which the Muslims in the various countries of the world live and where the Muslim peoples are exposed to a war of intellectual, physical and material annihilation. Very regrettably, there is an information "blackout" on the Islamic issues.

#### Media Does Not Pay Attention to Islamic Issues

(Shaykh al-Qardawi added) Those who are in control of the information media in the Muslim countries want to kill the Islamic issues. If there is any report on an Islamic issue, we find such a report to be small, marginal or distorted and printed at the bottom of the page. Our fundamental duty is, therefore, to pay attention to and think of these issues. We must also help them [sic] with as much money as we can. Very often they are in need of material aid and we must help them as much as we can and must proceed to spend from our money for the sake of God and to rescue the Muslim minorities subjected to persecution and deprivation in states which do not respect international charters or human rights.

#### Muslim Egypt Is Pioneer

[Question] What is the position of Egypt's Islamic movement vis-a-vis the other Islamic movements in the world?

[Answer] The Islamic movement is present everywhere. This movement is working to revive the Muslim nation and the Islamic system so that the Muslims may start a new Islamic life—a life governed by the Islamic faith, controlled by the Islamic law, predominated by the Islamic morals and regulated by the Islamic traditions and ethics. The major Islamic movement in the Arab countries is the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt from which numerous other movements have emanated. God, may He be praised, willed that this movement be afflicted with successive tribulations under the canopy of the "Nasirist idol." It was a tribulation that has turned into a blessing from God, may He be praised. The followers of this movement dispersed in God's vast lands and become the vanguard of the Islamic state everywhere they went and many people have studied on their hands. There is the Islamic group formed by Professor Abu-al-'A'la al-Mawdudi, may God's mercy be upon his soul, in Pakistan and India, even though each of the two countries has an independent administration because of the political conditions prevailing between the two countries. There is also the (Mamoshi) Party in Indonesia which is led by Dr Muhammad Nasir and a good group of people working for Islam. There is also al-Salamah [Safety] Party in Turkey and the Islamic Youth Movement in Malaysia.



## Islamic Groups Seed Planted by God for Sake of Call

[Shaykh al-Qardawi added] However, the Islamic movement in Egypt is the pioneer and many of these movements have been born as a result of the Egyptian movement. People used to think that the Islamic movement in Egypt will never rise again after being struck so severely and after many of its (leaders) were killed or executed. But the committed Muslim youth who spread in the "civilian" universities that were set up primarily to become al-Azhar's mosque for the blind [sic] were a seed planted by God, may He be praised, for the sake of the Islamic call in all countries of the world.

## Islam is Comprehensive System

[Question] Before leaving behind the talk about Egypt, we asked Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi: Do you find a need to unite the Islamic action of the various associations in Egypt?

[Answer] There must be agreement on the goals according to their priority. We must also agree on the means with which to achieve these goals. Thirdly, we must agree on the persons. There has to be confidence in the leadership. We may agree on the goals and on the means to achieve these goals without agreeing on the persons. In such a case, this cannot be considered a unification of the Islamic action. There has to be a degree of cooperation and coordination within a general framework.

Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi had visited a number of East Asian countries to familiarise himself with the conditions of the Muslim minorities there. What does he say about this trip?

His Eminence Shaykh Yusuf al-Qardawi says: God's prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, states that "he who is not concerned with the affairs of the Muslims is not one of them." I have recently visited Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Korea and Japan. Some of them are old-established Muslim countries, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, others have long-established Muslim minorities, such as Singapore, Hong Kong and the Philippines and some have been introduced to Islam recently, such as Korea and Japan. I have found out that the conditions of the Muslims are similar in numerous respects. There are many common things plaguing them:

1. The Muslim peoples are in one valley and the rulers in another.
2. The gap between the intellectual class and the overwhelming majority of the Muslim people: The intellectual class has almost been destroyed by the intellectual invasion to which it has been subjected since colonialism seized the countries of the Muslim world. Colonialism in its various forms is the same because "they are infidels ruling each other."
3. There is also the uneducated class among whose members, regrettably, illiteracy, ignorance and backwardness prevail, even though there is a lively Islamic feeling among them.



4. There is also blind imitation and narrow sectarianism.

5. There is disagreement among the Muslims over subsidiary issues and the estrangement and alienation to which this disagreement leads.

[Shaykh al-Qardawi adds] But one of the good things there is the presence of an "Islamic awakening" stirred by the Muslim youth everywhere. This is a movement that pleases and gladdens the Muslims.

The oil countries must help them out of gratitude to God for this wealth, especially since the "fearful" efforts of the [Christian] missionaries are besieging the poor countries of the east and trying to turn them Christian, exploiting their need for money.

"Here you are urged to spend for the sake of God. There are those who will hold back and they will be only holding back from themselves because God is rich and you are the poor. When you depart, others will replace you and will not be like you." [Loose translation of Koran quotation]

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